This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google books

https://books.google.com

UNITA

Identity of a FREE ANGOLA

T
11.8
573
985

Digitized by Google

STANFORD LIBRARIES
INSTITUTION

Digitized by Google

NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA

UNITA

Identity of a FREE ANGOLA

Jamba, Angola
1985

1985
Year of Total Mobilization
against the Cubans
and of defence of Territorial Integrity
of the country

© UNITA
1985
All rights reserved

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

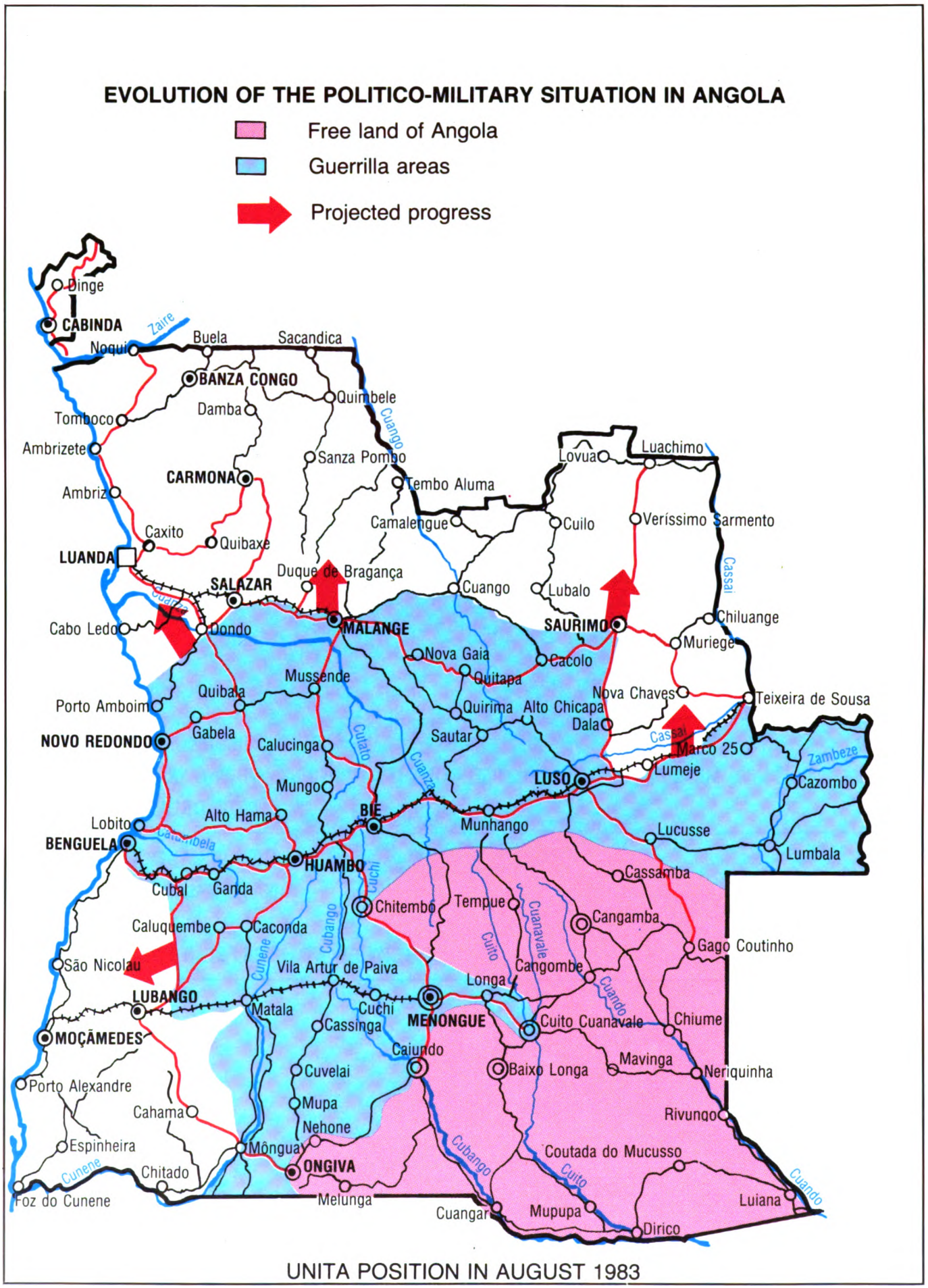
7 THE COUNTRY WE WANT
13 ANGOLAN POETRY
17 ANGOLA, THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE
21 A HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC PROFILE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE
23 THE MARCH TO MODERN NATIONALISM

25 UNITA: INSTITUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES
25 THE MOVEMENT
29 FALA
45 LIMA
49 JURA
51 UNITA AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

69 UNITA ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT
91 MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES
93 THE DRUM OF AFRICA

97 HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS
97 NATIONAL INFORMATION
133 DIPLOMACY
138 INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA

Digitized by Google



UNITA POSITION IN AUGUST 1983

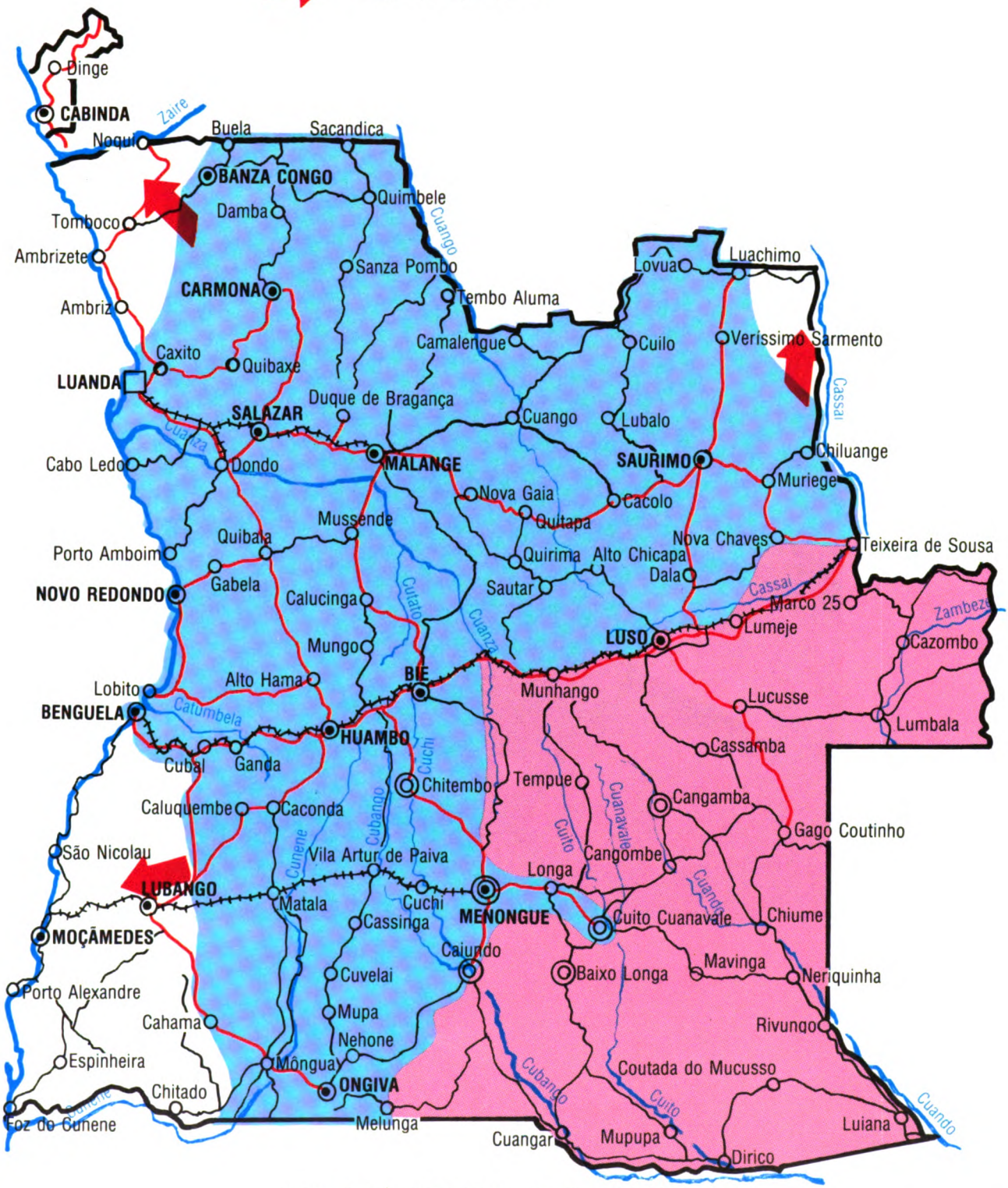
Digitized by Google

EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICO-MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA

Free land of Angola

Guerrilla areas

Projected progress



UNITA POSITION IN DECEMBER 1984

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE COUNTRY WE WANT

"We are people, we have a history and we want our destiny"
— Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI

Ten years have elapsed since the beginning of the Angolan resistance against Soviet expansionism and the military occupation of Angola by the Cubans. During this period UNITA proved to be the only patriotic organization capable of restoring dignity and honour to the people of Angola and by brandishing liberty and democracy, for Africa and the World to see, it claimed itself as a sovereign power.

During the course of a war, unparalleled in the historical annals of Africa, UNITA, under the prudent leadership of Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, demonstrated to Africa and the world that Russian expansionism can be defeated. UNITA is determined to sustain the struggle against the Cubans until their total withdrawal from Angola.

UNITA wants to see Angolans participate in public service of their country, so that liberty, which has cost so much blood, first against Portuguese colonialism and today against Russians and Cubans should signify a march towards socio-economic progress.

We do not want the bad MPLA government which devastated everything, saved nothing and turned the economic indices of the colonial era into ambitious targets and never achieved them.

UNITA's aim is for the Angolan people to have national sovereignty, in order not to leave it up to foreigners to tell us what must or may not be done. No one teaches us our history:

The history of Angola, our beloved fatherland, has always been one of suffering. No one can tell us what to make of Angola.

The marvellous and brave people of Angola have always known how to build up their country with their own sweat and blood.

No one shows us where the tombs of our parents, of our brothers are to be found! . . . We know where to find them.

UNITA is opposed to the cultural genocide now perpetrated by the Cubans, by means of the forced shipment of great numbers of Angolan youths to political indoctrination institutes in Cuba. The sons and daughters of Angola should nevermore serve as cheap labourers on the sugar-cane plantations in Cuba.

Without the participation of UNITA in the process intended to bring about peace in Angola and Southern Africa, no lasting peaceful solution is possible. UNITA has a global view of Angola and expresses its desire that all social and political problems should be discussed with maximum frankness, so that all elements in Angola, who have a valid opinion can contribute.

The major objective of UNITA is that Angola should be a country of dialogue, in which everybody can participate, in order to enhance Angolan patriotism and make Angola better for Angolans.

The final objective of UNITA is to bring about the unity of Angolans.

KWACHA . . . AFRICA
KWACHA . . . ANGOLA
KWACHA . . . UNITA
THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH
UNITED WE SHALL WIN

Digitized by Google

President SAVIMBI greeting the people who welcome him warmly and enthusiastically.

President SAVIMBI at the inauguration of the main lecture room of the Centre for Studies Kapessi KAFUNDANGA.

Digitized by Google

President SAVIMBI addressing the parade.

Young brigadiers listening attentively to the speech of President SAVIMBI.

Digitized by Google

President Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI and the Secretary General Miguel PUNA singing UNITA's national anthem.

Digitized by Google

Dr SAVIMBI returns from a diplomatic tour to friendly African nations.

President SAVIMBI accompanied by members of UNITA leadership and the Armed Forces in the Office Room.

Digitized by Google

Dawn is already shining,
On the horizon is the first light
Of our victory.

Digitized by Google

ANGOLAN POETRY

The poems are distinct and in the annals of modern Angolan literature, are singled out for their thematic richness as well as for their profound identity and realism and therefore form an integral part of the epic and lyric background.

In this vast poetic works, writing poems vibrating in unison with Angolan sentiment, by emulating the example of the famous in Angolan history; daring to fight, daring to win with the same tenacity as that of Queen GINGA, with the intelligence and foresight of the great EKUIKUI II, the audacity and sagacity of Commander MUTUYAKEVELA, the determination of King MANDUME, the courage of MUACHIYAVA; trailing the path of great men of our history, the dignitaries of the fatherland, those who in difficult times, in tragic moments of our history, indicated the way to honour, dignity and liberty . . .

Often, the poet takes us to the venerable environs of the realm of infancy to mother's house where:

"At night, my mother's prayer varied
We prayed for night travellers,
Who walked at night and never rested
We used to ask mother who the men of the night's prayer were
My mother in the next prayer would answer
Those who worked beyond their strength
Impatiently we waited for the next prayer"[1]

In this way, the profound serene meditation of Mother MBUNDU, "The Mother's Prayer", changed the prayer of the people in the course of time.

What shall we say of these epic poems, these songs of struggle and of hope.

These songs echo the cries of KAPALANDANDA, symbol of the struggle against foreign domination; SAMUIMBILA, a young Commander who died heroically in the First Liberation War; Arão KUNGA, an anti-colonialist in student circles in Huambo, one of the pioneers of the Movement, arrested and killed in 1961 in the dungeons of PIDE; Brother SAMANJOLO; the blood of the young Major LOTH "FUNDANGA"; Commander KAFUNDANGA and of other heroes and heroines who, in the war against colonialism and now against the Russian-Cuban invasion gave their lives in order that the fatherland, Angola, may live eternally.

The songs are also of those who left for the unknown, those who departed with grieved souls, those who left for the coffee plantations in Uíge, Gabela and the other centres of insatiable colonial exploitation.

For centuries there was no one to portray and interpret the core and identity of Angolan culture.

Then, at a time when the sons and daughters of Angola, under the guidance of UNITA, started to liberate the country and its people from the Russian-Cuban occupation, a voice came to the fore with a message for all the lovers of independence, justice and progress to hear: the men, women and children of Angola are people, have a history and will fight for their heritage! This voice was the voice of our beloved president and poet, Dr SAVIMBI.

[1]The verses of the poem "My Mother's Prayer", written by Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI are an extract from his Poetic Writings.

THE DAY WHEN THE LAND WILL SMILE AGAIN

I

Beaming faces will reflect the joy
The villages will jubilate
Fearless excitement will be everywhere
When the land will smile again

II

Children used to crying
Crying for hunger and fear
Will fear to start smiling
Until the day when the land will smile again

III

For long the villagers refrained from smiling
The night air was devoid of song
All will be afraid to start smiling
Until that day when the land will smile again

Digitized by Google

IV

Suffering and pain has become our second nature
The sun rises earlier and never seems to set
Once the days of our torture
We await the day when the land will smile again

V

The long-expected future has vanished
Our peaceful nights are ended
Our much longed-for laughter spent
Until the land will smile again

VI

At present the winter is colder
Our men far out in the fields
Often do not return to us
As we wait for the land to smile again

VII

The thunder is loud and the clouds are black
All becomes darkness, despair and fear
Children cry for their mothers in vain
Until the day when the land will smile again

VIII

Our land, our people, our pain
The moon no longer shines at night
Our maidens do not dance with joy
But wait for the land to smile again

IX

Tired of waiting and suffering, our people
One day will drive the Cuban from our land
And we shall see the new daybreak
The day when the land will smile again

X

Our children, raised in this land,
Land of exile but our land,
Grow up and yet they never laugh
Awaiting the day when the land will smile again

XI

There will be no more sad songs
The moon will once again appear
Our men will soon return to us
For the land will smile again

Digitized by Google

XII

Forgetting the insults and shame
We'll see the sun rising anew
And the days will be long
When the land will smile again

XIII

The children will smile without fear
The maidens will dance and rejoice
Cheer and laughter will be everywhere
The day when the land will smile again

XIV

The far-off sound of thunder in the air
Will echo the cannons that freed our land
The land that will be our children's heritage
On that day when the land will smile again

Don't cry my golden baby,
Don't cry my love.
The days of the Cuban intruder are numbered
The flowers will bloom anew
When the land will smile again.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ANGOLA, THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

Angola, located in the western region of Southern Africa extends from 4° 22′ to 18° 03′ South and from 11° 41′ to 24° 05′ East, occupies an area of 1 246 700 sq. kms and has a perimeter of 6 487 kms made up of 1 650 kms of maritime frontier and 4 837 kms of frontier with its neighbours.

Angola has common boundaries with the following countries: in the North, the Republic of Congo and the Republic of Zaire; in the East, the Republic of Zaire and the Republic of Zambia and in the South, Namibia.

RELIEF, HYDROGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Relief: Angola is a country with an uneven surface and its landscape has singular characteristics. Moving from the coast into the interior, the following features are observed:

- Low coastal lands, along the Atlantic Ocean with altitudes of up to 200 metres.
- A transitional zone, which extends from North to South, with a maximum altitude of up to 1 000 metres.
- A plateau area, which covers about two-thirds of the country with altitudes ranging between 1 000 to 1 500 metres, with the highest peaks lying in the central regions — Mount MOKO and Mount MEKO at 2 620 metres and 2 583 metres respectively.

Hydrography: Angola is one of the richest regions in fresh water in the whole of Africa. The sources of most of the important rivers are situated on the central plateau. From this central plateau the land slopes down in three directions, a descent in altitude towards the West, the East and the South. This feature of the landscape permits the distribution of the water resources in an unparalleled manner.

Angolan rivers are classified into four categories according to the source and the estuary:

- The river mouth lies within our territory, the source without: CHILOANGO and ZAIRE;
- Neither the river mouth nor the source is within our territory: ZAMBEZI.
- The source lies within our territory, the river mouth without: CASSAI, QUANDO, CUBANGO and CUANGO.
- Both the river mouth and the source are within our territory: CUANZA, CUNENE, BENGO, DANDE, QUEVE, CATOMBELA, LOGEM, M'BRIDGE, CUPORORO and LONGA.

Climate: Located between the equator and the tropic of Capricorn, Angola is a country with a tropical climate with two seasons in a year — the dry season, with low temperatures, covering the period from May to August; the rainy season with average humidity and average temperatures, running from September to April.

In the interior the following climatic zones can be discerned:

- A transitional zone in Cabinda and the northern part of the country, with a climate tending towards the equatorial high temperatures and a high rainfall.
- A humid zone stituated on the plateau, with moderate temperatures, making it smooth and pleasant for people from different climatic regions.
- Semi-arid zones, along the coast and the southern part of the country, with high temperatures and diminishing rainfall.
- A desert zone along the coast south of the Benguela Railway, extending to the South-west of the country, in the province of Moçâmedes.

POPULATION:

The population was estimated at 6,5 million in 1983. This estimate was done as follows: the 1970 census figures were used and a 2% annual growth rate was assumed and added. (In the 1960-1970 period the annual growth rate was 2%.) This total was then adjusted to compensate for the massive exodus of Portuguese settlers in the aftermath of independence in 1975.

The average population density is 8/sq.mi (5/sq. km), which is very low, even by African standards. The geographic distribution is markedly uneven and may be estimated as follows:

Province	*Population*
Cabinda	81 000 (1,2%)
Zaire	45 000 (0,7%)
Uige	39 000 (6,0%)
Cuanza Norte	299,000 (4,6%)
Luanda	722 000 (11,1%)
Malange	650 000 (10,0%)
Lunda	330 000 (5,0%)
Cuanza Sul	525 000 (8,0%)
Benguela	546 000 (8,4%)
Huambo	962 000 (14,8%)
Bié	728 000 (11,2%)
Moxico	262 000 (4,0%)
Cuando Cubango	162 000 (2,5%)
Huila-Cunene	741 000 (11,4%)
Moçâmedes	65 000 (1,0%)
TOTAL	6 508 000

Age distribution estimated as follows:

Age	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
0 – 4 years	8,1%	8,1%	16,2%
5 – 9	6,5	6,5	13,0
10 – 14	5,8	5,8	11,6
15 – 19	5,2	5,1	10,3
20 – 24	4,5	4,6	9,1
25 – 29	3,9	4,1	8,0
30 – 34	3,4	3,5	6,9
35 – 39	2,9	2,9	5,8
40 – 44	2,5	2,4	4,9
45 – 49	2,1	2,0	4,1
50 – 54	1,6	1,6	3,2
55 – 59	1,3	1,3	2,6
60 – 64	0,9	0,9	1,8
65 and over	1,2	1,3	2,5

This shows the youthfulness of the Angolan population with the pre-active group (0 – 14 years old) accounting for about 50 per cent of the total population, while the inactive group (60 years old and over) represents only four per cent. It leaves an active population group of almost 50 per cent of the total.

The urban population is today estimated at about 20 per cent, an increase when compared to the 15 per cent in the 1970 census. This increase is mostly due to a massive rural exodus, specially in Luanda, following independence. Eight per cent of the Angolan population makes its living directly from agricultural activities. Due to a virtual economic paralysis, the mobility of the population has become practically zero.

MAIN URBAN CENTRES

Luanda (the capital), JAMBA (the provisional capital of the free land of Angola), Huambo, Benguela, Malange,

Digitized by Google

Lubango, Lobito, Luso, Bié and Moçâmedes.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Forestry: Vast timber resources: hardwood, ebony, girasonde, ironwood, mussivi, sandalwood, rosewood and many others.

Fishing: Abundant along the entire 1 650 km coastline.

Wildlife: A rich variety of African savanna species, including the rare black deer, the white rhinoceros, elephant, lion, giraffe, zebra, etc.

Minerals: Oil, diamonds, iron, gold, copper, phosphates, asphalt rock, manganese, coal and others, as well as a vast potential for hydro-electric energy.

Agriculture: A soil with enormous potential for a variety of crops: sugar-cane, coffee, corn, wheat, beans, pineapple, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, cotton, sisal, etc.

Angola is a seaboard country, offering strategic transportation routes to landlocked neighbouring countries.

The Angolan soil has enormous potentialities for a rich diversity of crops. A field of maize in the liberated territory.

Angola is one of the richest regions in fresh water on the African continent.

Digitized by Google

In Angola there is a rich diversity of animals which is typical of the African savannah.

Digitized by Google

"The voices of Free Angola". The choir of Jamba is present at all functions.

The greatness of the Angolan soul is transmitted and consolidated through cultural manifestations.

Digitized by Google

A HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC PROFILE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

"It is UNITA's duty to accommodate all the tribes in Angola."

We should oppose theorists, such as those of the MPLA, who advocate the abolition of tribes and the consecration of predominant national languages. Such steps should be opposed, since the abolition of tribes will result in the disappearance of our cultural foundation.

We should not be so myopic to think that the peoples of Angola could become one tribe: the tribes should rather fuse into one nation. Such a union will muster our national strength.

We are for a unitary republic, democratic and indivisible.

Dr Jonas SAVIMBI
Extract from the report to the Extraordinary Congress.

With its vast water resources, its excellent climate and fertile soil, the territory which is now Angola was, is and will continue to be, a country capable of generating wealth and happiness for its people.

Its principal wealth is its children, the Angolan people, who do not yield to any form of foreign domination or oppression.

The ethnolinguistic base of Angola is made up of population groups of BANTU origin and a non-BANTU minority, the VASSEQUELE.

THE BANTU

Since the BANTU live not only in Angola but also in Central, Southern and Eastern Africa, they constitute a special group amongst Africa's Black People. They have three indisputable elements in common:

(a) They share the same linguistic system.
(b) They share the same level of civilization.
(c) They share the same philosophical ideas.

Due to the vastness of the area the Bantu occupy, they did not all start their quest for progress at the same time, nor did their development progress at the same speed. Thus some are more advanced than others.

The Bantu people practised metallurgy, agriculture, cattle-raising and fishing — activities which stimulated economic growth and military power.

Geographical, environmental and other outside influences brought nine ethnolinguistic groups together in Angola. According to their development, demographic growth and organizational ability, the stronger ethnolinguistic groups established their own kingdoms. Thus we have:

Bakongo: This ethnolinguistic group occupies the northern and northwestern parts of Angola from Cabinda to the Dande River. Their language is Kikongo.

As a result of the colonial powers dividing the African continent, part of this group lives in what is now the republics of Congo and Zaire.

According to ancestral legend, a certain chief Nimi-a-Lukeni brought together all the Kikongo-speaking clans, thereby founding the Kingdom of Congo with Mbanza Congo, situated in the Angolan province Zaire, as a capital.

Even before the arrival of the Portuguese the hard-working Bakongo became eager businessmen and started using "Njimbi" sea-shells as money. The kingdom soon became a formidable commercial power. Due to this and to the geographical position the Bakongo were the first people that the Portuguese navigators came into contact with in 1482.

Kimbundu: The Bakongo's immediate neighbours to the South are the Kimbundu people. The territory of this group lies between the Dande and the Cuanza Rivers, from Luanda to the Lunda-Chokwes, bordering onto the Ovimbundu in the South.

Before the Portuguese occupation, the Kimbundu had established the kingdoms of Dongo and Matamba as well as the Kissama states. Agriculture and commerce flourished.

The Kimbundu territory was the first to be militarily invaded by the Portuguese in the 16th century. This group's heroic struggle against foreign domination is one of the major events in history. The Kimbundu were led into battle under the command of their chiefs, of whom Queen GINGA was one of the most remarkable personalities of the 17th century.

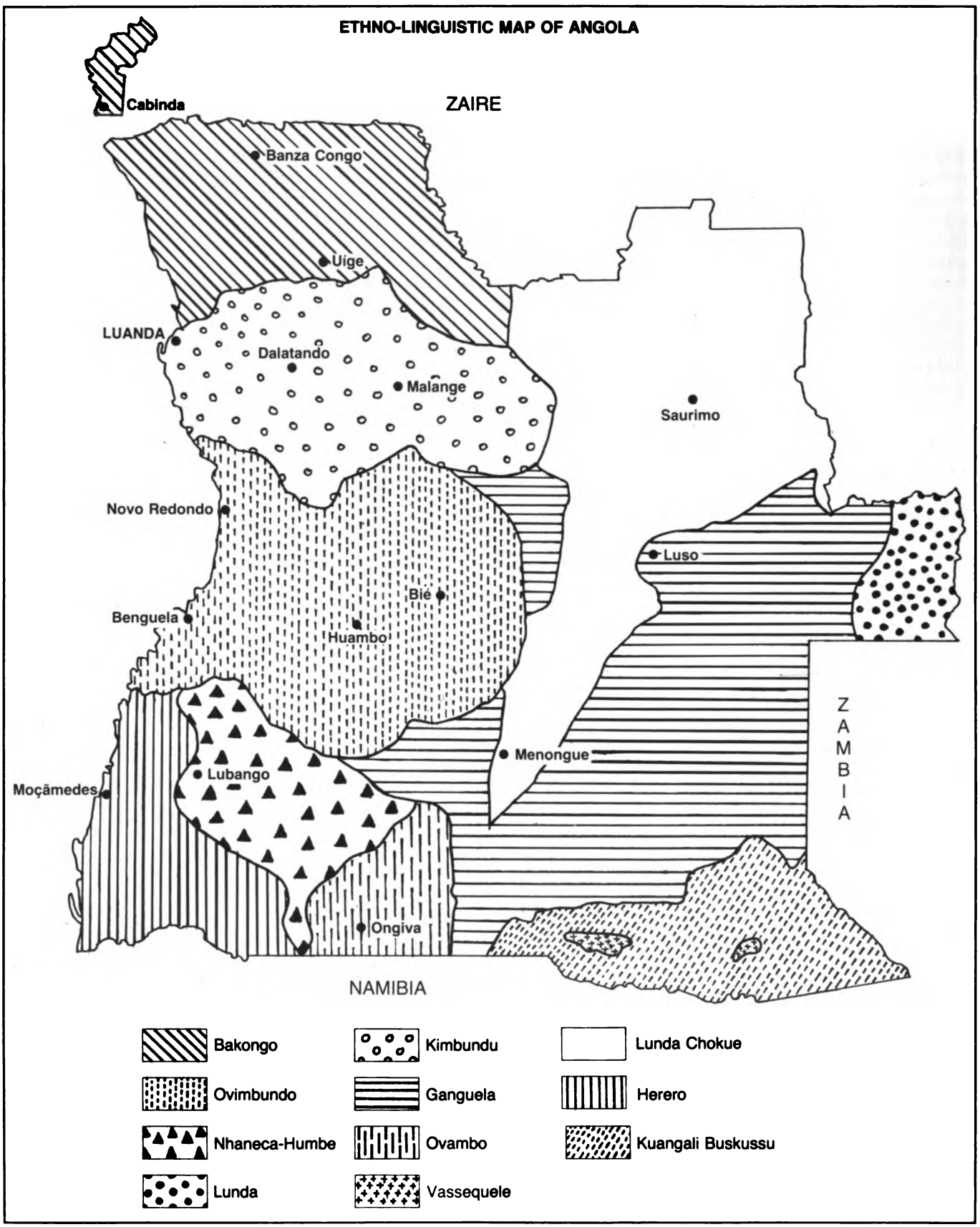
Since they were forced, in many ways, to live side by side with the Portuguese, the Kimbundus were subjected to intensive Portuguese influence over the centuries, especially with regards to the fact that the first schools were established on Kimbundu territory. This had an influence on the cultural base of the Bantu, with the result that the first Angolan literature was written by members of this group.

Ovimbundu: The Ovimbundu are the most populous ethnolinguistic group. They occupy the central plateau of Angola, the provinces of Benguela, Huambo, Bié and the greater parts of Hufla, Cuanza North and Cuanza South.

The Ovimbundu are dedicated farmers and businessmen. They criss-crossed the sub-continent, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. In doing so, the Ovimbundu exchanged experiences and cultural values with other peoples. This deeply marked the psychology of the people, since co-existence has been their way of life. The Ovimbundu have a reputation of being hard workers, hospitable and patient, but implacable when defending their rights. During the colonial occupation they were under considerable Christian influence, which accounts for the fact that the Ovimbundu have the greatest number of educated people in terms of intellectual and technical cadres at all levels.

Even before the arrival of the Portuguese, the Ovimbundu established various states: Mbalundu, Wambu, Viye, Ndulu, Ngalangui and Chiaka. This led to the establishment of administrative divisions of the central plateau, not a division of the people. They are united by language, culture, tradition and democratic power. These states are strong due to the character of the people who have always been ardent soldiers. Their stories, tales, proverbs and songs bear testimony to their historical past: "Kapalandanda walila; walilila ofeka yahe, yilo ofeka yokuloya, kaloyele atundemo!" "Kpalandanda has wept, he has wept for this country, this is the country of struggle, he who does not fight must leave." The message from ancient times has become the cry for liberation:

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

this is the land of hope and struggle.

Lunda-Chokwe: Lunda-Chokwe is the collective name for the Lunda Lua Chinde, Lunda-Ndembo and Chokwe tribes. They occupy the province of Lunda and part of Moxico and also live in scattered groups in the provinces of Cuando-Cubango, Huíla and Eastern Bié. The Lunda Ndembo, having separated from the Lunda empire, established their small kingdom, which was later divided between the Portuguese and the British, on the left bank of the Zambezi, known as the "Alto Zambezi".

The Chokwes refused the authority of the king of the Lundas and settled in the provinces of Moxico, Bié, Cuando-Cubango and Huíla. The Chokwes, closely linked to the Lunda Empire before the secession, then established various states of their own.

Since the Chokwes were traders, hunters and apiarists, the Lunda-Chokwe area became an important commercial centre for the people of the central plateau until the beginning of this century.

Nganguela: The Nganguela group consists of the following tribes: Luimbi, Nyemba, Luchazi, Bunda, Luvale, Mbuela, Kangala, Massi and Yavuma. The group occupies the provinces of Cuando-Cubango and Moxico, as well as parts of Cunene and Huíla.

The Nganguela are renowned fishermen and apiarists.

The Nganguela only came under Portuguese rule in the year 1920, since they lived in scattered groups far from the Atlantic coast. The Bunda and the Nyemba fought against this domination under the command of Chief Muene Bundu and King Chihuaku respectively.

As the Nganguelas were divided into groups, their authority was not centralized. They nevertheless established important kingdoms, the most prominent of which are those of the Kubango, the Massaka and the kingdom of the Luvale under the reign of the illustrious Nhakatolo.

Nhaneka-Humbi: The Nhaneka-Humbi are the neighbours of the Ovimbundu and the Ovambo. They live in the Huíla and Cunene provinces and consist of the following tribes: the Muila, Humbi, Handa and Gambo.

They raise cattle and, to a lesser extent, cultivate the land and lead a semi-nomadic life. They had strong kingdoms once they were opposed to colonialism.

Ovambo: The Ovambo occupy the Cunene province between 16 °S and the Namibian border. This group is made up of Kuanhama, Kuamatui, Evale and Kafima.

Although also engaged in agricultural activities their main occupation is cattle-raising. Due to climatic factors and the low level of development, they still lead a semi-nomadic life.

Mandume succeeded in uniting the Ovambo and offered resistance to the Portuguese until September 1917. The patriotism which he instilled in the Ovambo is still alive even today. His capital was Onjiva and this name was restored after the overthrow of the Portuguese. They had formerly given the name of Pereira d'Eça to the place.

Herero: The Hereros are also one of the population groups of our country. They occupy the south of Benguela, the west of Huíla and the province of Moçâmedes.

Like the Ovambo and the Khaneka-Humbi the Herero are cattle-raisers, the cattle being their wealth.

Kuangar-Bukusso: The Kuangar-Bukusso linguistic group occupies the southern part of the Cuando Cubango province. They raise cattle and fish in the Cubango and Cuando rivers.

THE NON-BANTU — THE VASSEKELE

The Vassekele are a numerically small, non-Bantu group who live in the Cunene province and south of the Cuando Cubango.

They are hunters and have been nomads all along. Under influence of the Bantu people they have adopted an almost sedentary lifestyle, even farming on a small scale. Their main occupation, however is still hunting, fishing and honey gathering. The Vassekele have a special language characterized by click sounds. They were responsible for the marvellous paintings found on the rocks in many caves in southern Angola, such as the Chitundo-Hulo cave in the Moçâmedes desert.

THE MARCH TOWARDS MODERN NATIONALISM

The strong and prestigious kingdoms of the Congo and the central plateau were at their peak when their downfall was brought about by the nefarious activities of the Portuguese colonialists.

On account of the incorruptible character of these kings, who were keen on fighting and decided to defend their kingdoms and their cultural values, the Portuguese opted for war and after heavy losses on their part they slowly started subjugating the kingdoms, due to the superiority of their armaments.

After a lengthy battle, the Ndongo were defeated and the Portuguese attacked the central plateau. This area was more densely populated and more wealthy, and the climate more favourable; a centre from which many departed, carrying rubber, elephant tusks, wax and other merchandise up to Katombela and from there on to Benguela (now Porto Amboim).

In the Bailundo Kingdom the Portuguese fought a tough and prolonged battle. During the resistance put up by the Bailundo Commander Mutuyakevela and King Ekuikui II distinguished themselves as heroes.

The arrival and entrenchment of a large military contingent under the command of Teixeira da Silva gradually put an end to tenacious resistance of the Bailundo.

With the Portuguese garrisoned in Bailundo, they had ample opportunity to attack the Kingdoms of Ndunduma (VIYE), Chivava (NDULU) and Seles.

In spite of the despair after the defeat, the occupation of the country, the repression and the cruel slavery, the Portuguese were unable to stamp out the will of this heroic people. Very soon, pockets of resistance made their appearance in the densely populated port cities, Luanda and Lobito, which were in contact with the outside world.

It was in these cities that the patriots formed associations under the pretext of cultural and mutual aid activities, but with political objectives; associations such as the NATIONAL AFRICA LEAGUE in

Digitized by Google

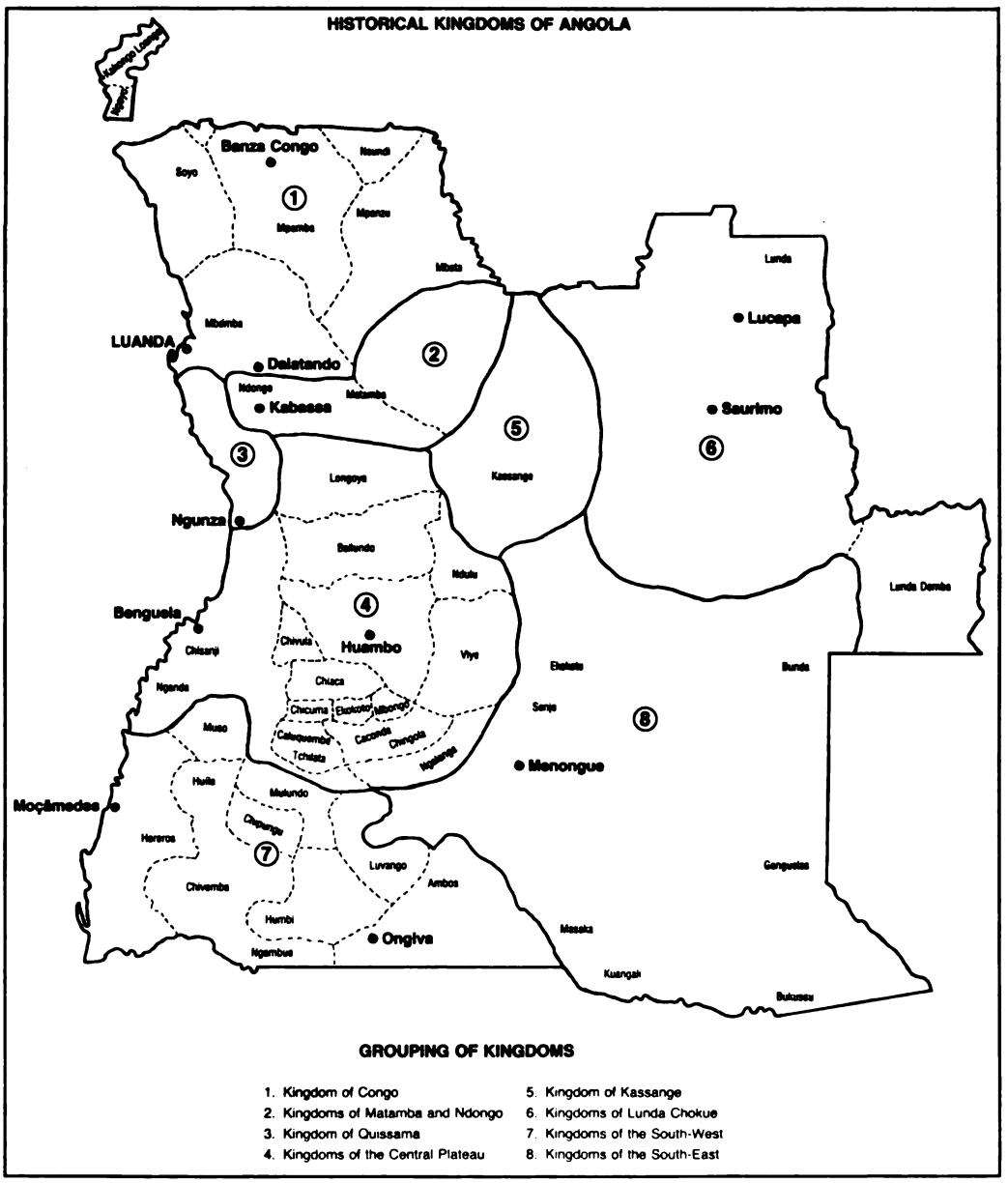
Luanda, with a branch in Benguela, the GRÉMIO AFRICANO in Luanda, the REGIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NATIVES OF ANGOLA, the ANANGOLA in Luanda and the AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN ANGOLA which was founded in Lobito and had its headquarters in Huambo. These associations were later infiltrated by Salazar government officials. This prevented the materialization of the ideals for which these associations were founded.

For this reason the Angolan people changed their tactics and indulged in clandestine work — the era of liberation movements had begun.

Angola, the mother country, begot many children; from patriots to the wickedest of traitors. Two armed movements were founded. They engaged in a struggle against the Portuguese, who made the grave mistake of commanding their forces from abroad. After some time these two movements, led by Neto and Holden Roberto, deviated from their original objectives and resorted to civil war.

The Angolan people, however, are always ready to follow the one that assumes the responsibility of leading the way to liberty. For this reason they will rally and adhere to the most beloved son of the country, Dr JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI, the only saviour in the liberation process of the Angolan people.

Liberty, dignity and happiness are the sublime goals which the sons of Angola have been fighting for since the 16th century; first against Portuguese colonialism and now against Soviet-Cuban expansionism.



Digitized by Google

UNITA: INSTITUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

THE MOVEMENT

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was founded on the 13th March 1966 at the First Constitutive Congress. The movement added new impetus to the anti-colonial struggle of the Angolan people. Its founding was due to those elements of Angolan society that are politically the most enlightened, with Dr Jonas SAVIMBI at the head. This initiative is based on the necessity of basing the armed combat in the interior of the country and not at foreign bases as the liberation movements did previously, and on the necessity of assembling all patriotic forces which had before been alienated by hegemonism, tribalism and other unpatriotic activities.

The decision to wage the war from within Angola was one of the fundamental ideas behind the creation of UNITA. This has proved effective in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and continues to bear fruit in the fight against neo-colonialist Cuban troops and their Soviet instructors.

UNITA's principle of self-reliance enabled it to develop the ability which turned UNITA into one of the top liberation movements.

The overthrow of the fascist Portuguese regime was a direct result of UNITA's continued armed struggle in the interior of Angola. UNITA made a positive contribution to the country's politics. Most Angolans adhering to UNITA believe it to be the only national liberation movement that has the material and spiritual interest of the people at heart.

UNITA and its President, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, were opposed to the fratricidal civil war that broke out in the country after the twenty-fifth of April 1974. Dr SAVIMBI did everything in his power to solve the dispute between the three liberation movements. He was the initiating agent behind the signing of the peace accords in November 1974 in Kinshasa (Zaire), in December 1974 in Luso (Angola), in January 1975 in

UNITA LEADS THE PEOPLE

Mombasa (Kenya) and in June 1975 in Nakuru (Kenya). The MPLA frustrated these plans by systematically violating these accords. The MPLA was determined to control the whole of Angola with the aid of Cuban arms and soldiers, defending the interests of social-imperialism.

This unpatriotic attitude of the MPLA, allowing the Cubans to take the place of the Portuguese in exploring the wealth of Angola, is one of the main reasons for UNITA's continued and successful resistance.

As far as UNITA is concerned, the Angolan problem will only be solved once all the patriotic forces unite, mobilizing the nation as a whole. All groups within the Angolan people should take part in this national reconciliation movement to unite the Angolan nation:

- All the religious forces opposed to the spiritual alienation of our people.
- All organized resistance movements against Soviet-Cuban socialism.
- All prominent personalities that denounce the crimes perpetrated by the Cubans and the MPLA against the Angolan people.

Realizing that there is no political system in the world which would suit the needs or solve the problems of the Angolan people, UNITA has the interests of Angola at heart and is opposed to any social system imposed on Angola by any foreigner.

UNITA's programme in this context is expressed in the four words on its coat of arms:

SOCIALISM

Under SOCIALISM is understood the establishment of a collective production system and the just distribution of the proceeds without prejudice to private initiative in such a way as to enable everyone to lead a decent, dignified life and the planned development of the country's vast resources and the rapid modernization of agriculture, the basis of the country's economy.

Individual initiative is not contrary to the socialism which UNITA envisages as long as it is incorporated in the national effort for the economic reconstruction — fighting greed by protecting the weak.

UNITA encourages foreign investment in order to acquire the means and the technology essential to our progress. But it is the majority government that will establish the conditions governing foreign investment, the protection thereof and the legitimacy of the profits to be exported.

UNITA envisages a national education system affording everyone whose will is in accordance with national necessities, the opportunity of acquiring professional education.

In the medical field, the government will establish free medical aid to all citizens who are economically at a disadvantage.

NEGRITUDE

The cultural African identity in the heart of the peoples of Angola plays an essential role in our concept of a national unity. The objective appreciation of African cultural identiy in Angola places our national liberation struggle within the

Digitized by Google

context of the war waged by the oppressed and exploited peoples against the oppressor, who exercises economic exploitation as well as cultural and psychological alienation.

Negritude searches for cultural values which would assure the people of Africa of their own identity so that when coming into contact with other cultures their own culture will neither be absorbed nor disappear. Such contacts should rather be an enriching experience for the African people, whilst Negro values may be transmitted to the new cultures.

Negritude affirms Angola's African identity. UNITA defends the cultural African identity of the Angolan people, allowing for dialogue at universal level, thus developing its values.

DEMOCRACY

To UNITA this principle implies the realization of free elections affording the Angolan people the opportunity to give their views on those political, economic and social problems that affect their lives directly.

The governing of the people by the people is only possible when all political parties and movements are represented in the government. Thus, true democracy can only be established after the formation of a government of national union led by the majority.

NON-ALIGNMENT

UNITA accepts the co-operation of other countries on condition that such co-operation be based on reciprocal interest, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

UNITA practises a realistic foreign policy which takes the continuation of the national liberation struggle and the geographical position of the region into consideration by adhering to its Negro-African character and its independence of action.

UNITA is a political organization which, over the years, has proved itself capable of maintaining the fine balance between the political philosophy and the day-to-day lives of the population, its leaders sharing the suffering of the people.

UNITA is organized as follows at central level

— THE CONGRESS

— THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE CONGRESS

The Congress is the superior body of UNITA, assembling every four years. At these assemblies the constitution is reviewed, the members of the National Committee are elected and a president is elected or the mandate of the president in office is renewed.

UNITA has organized five congresses until now:

- The first Congress took place at Muangai (Moxico Province) on the 13th March 1966.
- The Second Congress was held in Sachimbanda (Moxico province) in September 1969. At this Congress UNITA's internal and external policies were defined and the organizational structure of the movement and the armed forces was established.
- The Third Congress was held on the banks of the Kutaho River in Moxico province in August 1973.
- The Fourth Congress was organized at Benda, 80 km from the city of Huambo, in March 1977. This Congress introduced the necessary amendments to the constitution in order to adapt it to the evolution of the movement and the national resistance struggle. It was at this Congress that it was decided to establish the regular units of FALA (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola).
- The Fifth Congress held in Mavinga, in the province of Cuando Cubango, was a great victory for UNITA and the Angolan people due to the weighty decisions taken, the materialization of which will raise UNITA to a key position in the search for a peaceful solution to the Southern African conflict.
- Lastly, the Extraordinary Congress. It took place in Jamba (Cuando-Cubango province), in November 1984. Important decisions were taken, in order to allow UNITA and the National Resistance to face the present national and international situation.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The National Committee is the organ in charge of controlling the execution of the Movement's policy, as decided by the Congress

The National Committee consists of 50 members elected by Congress. It assembles every six months, except for special meetings. The Secretariat is the executive body and is charged with the implementation of the established political policy.

The development of the fight against Soviet-Cuban imperialism in Angola, is a patent reality in the eyes of the world. This fact emphasizes the political and organizational dimension of UNITA, intelligently directed by its president, Dr Jonas M. SAVIMBI.

UNITA has become a cohesive political force and serves the national interests: total liberation of the Angolan territory, defence of the territory and protection of the common wealth. UNITA organized sanitary assistance, the normalization and development of agriculture and cattle-raising as well as the education of the people.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Jonas SAVIMBI, president of UNITA.

Digitized by Google

Traditional chiefs were present at the Extraordinary Congress of UNITA. The Angolan people joined UNITA in great numbers and followed their leader, President SAVIMBI.

Working sessions during the Extraordinary Congress of UNITA.

Digitized by Google

FALA

"The work achieved is truly ours. It has singled out time in Angola, in Southern Africa and in the world for it is the highest expression of the Angolan people's aspirations.

Had it not been true and authentic, our work would not have lasted.

It has resisted because it has followed the general lines of history."

Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
General

Excerpt from the opening speech during the Extraordinary Congress

USING FORCE TO EXPRESS THE FRUSTRATION OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

HISTORY

After their training in China in 1965, the first military cadres returned to Angola, settled in the eastern part of the country and started with the mobilization and recruitment of guerrillas. In this way, the first embryonic contingent of FALA was formed.

The number of guerrillas increased with the growing number of UNITA members among the population, thus, permitting effective training to acquaint the guerrillas with military knowledge. This allowed them to fulfil the mission of liberating the country from the claws of Portuguese colonialism, as proved by the attacks of the 4th and the 25th December 1966 on Kassamba and Teixeira de Sousa respectively.

The first military regions were established along with their respective independent zones and operational fronts like Quembo, Lewa and the northern zone.

The Second Congress of UNITA was held in 1969, where a programme for FALA was laid down, which included the expansion of the guerrilla war to the central, southern and northern parts of the country and the formation of compact guerrilla contingents for all fronts, zones and military regions existing at the time. The Black Panthers contingent was then formed, under the command of Major SAMUIMBILA.

The first Chief of Staff, Samuel Piedoso CHINGUNJI, better known by his war name, Kapessi KAFUNDANGA, was then appointed.

FALA turned out an effective force, causing the enemy to suffer many defeats, expanding the guerrilla zones and consolidating the liberated areas, thus becoming a force with which the Portuguese colonialists had to reckon. Then, the 25th April 1974 took place. On the 14 June 1974, a ceasefire was signed with the Portuguese government.

There being no possibility of a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem, UNITA played its role as a moderator in order to avoid an armed confrontation triggered on the one hand by the Soviet Union, in support of the MPLA and on the other hand by the United States of America, supporting the FNLA. The MPLA, through the Cubans, violated the Alvor agreement opting for the seizure of power through the use of arms.

During the civil war, FALA abandoned the towns not only to reorganise itself, but also to oppose the minority regime of Luanda through guerrilla warfare.

In May 1976, due to the perturbance, the Conference of Cuanza was held, resulting in the Cuanza Manifesto. The latter laid down for FALA the programme for the remobilization of the soldiers and cadres, who at that stage were traumatized by the monstrous and bellicose Soviet machinery.

The territorial organization of the Army — Fronts and independent military regions — was created. The first politico-military cadres — among them Maj. José Jeremias Bandua (died in Cunene) — were trained. Compact guerilla units were formed —"Venceremos" and "Estamos a Voltar (MR 1), Dragões Da Morte (MR 3) and Faísca Negra (MR 85).

In 1977, the people were joining UNITA in great numbers and the number of guerillas increased considerably.

In March of the same year, at Benda in the Huambo Province, the Movement's Fourth Congress was held and outlined other objectives to be attained by FALA, such as the formation of the first trained, equipped and motivated battalions; among which the battalions of SAMANJOLO and KAZOMBUELA stood out.

The disciplinary code of FALA was established, the military regions were restructured and the guerilla regions expanded.

Training camps were founded in the same year at all fronts and in the politico-military regions.

In 1978, the Seminary for Politico-Military Cadres in Miliary Region 11 was held. A territorial division was made, in that way forming fronts: northern, eastern and western.

In 1979, the first semi-regular battalions were formed, such as SAMUIMBILLA, SIULE SIULE and 333.

In 1980, the expansion of semi-regular battalions gave new vigour to the armed struggle conquering new territories and consolidating those which had already been conquered. Some more specialists in anti-aircraft artillery, engineering, intelligence, special commandos, communicatons, logistics and health were trained.

In 1981, the first brigades, such as the 12th, 21st, 53rd, 34th and 45th were formed and other batallions were maintained as independent units.

In 1982, the Fifth Congress was held,

Digitized by Google

which drew up a new strategy for FALA, including the formation of military columns and compact guerilla units at the level of all politico-military fronts.

THE ENEMY'S MAJOR OFFENSIVES

1. The *offensive in the eastern part* of the country began on 13 March 1976 culminating in the bombardment of the town of Gago Coutinho.
2. *"Burnt land" offensive.* This was also referred to as the Mariam Ngouabi offensive and reached all UNITA's areas of influence where one of the worst massacres of the defenceless population was seen. Congolese, Nigerian, Katangese, Guinean, Santomean and Cuban forces equipped with war material of the Soviet Union were involved in this attack. It lasted from September to November 1976.
3. From November 1977 to March 1978, there were campaigns to encircle and annihilate our areas of influence north and south of the CFB. This offensive was carried out in three phases. The first and the second were east of Bié with the objective of encircling and annihilating the military headquarters and support base of UNITA. The third was aimed southwards and included the offensive "Luatuta" from February to March 1978, combined with the operation "Dangereux" in eastern Angola.
4. *Operation Kilamba.* An attempt to regain the frontier south of Cuando Cubango took place in mid-June 1978.
5. In October 1978, an operation named "Cristal" was meant to capture the UNITA leadership in the areas east of Cunene and west of Cuando Cubango.
6. From May to September 1979, an operation named "Red May" east of Bié was aimed at the UNITA headquaters.
7. In November 1979, an operation named "Red Cock" was carried out in the same areas as "Red May".
8. In 1980 the operation "Marcelino Dias" against the ares south of the CFB was also aimed at the frontier areas in an effort to recover them.
9. In May 1981, the objective of operation "Gentil" was to strangle our areas of influence, east of Bié.
10. In 1981, operation "Maria Eugénia Neto" was carried out.
11. In July 1981, the operation code-named "Seventh Anniversary" with the aim of annihilating our dispersed and compact guerilla contingents, affected almost all the provinces where UNITA was present.
12. In 1982 an operation named "Camilo Cienfuegos" was carried out in the eastern part of the country, aimed at regaining the posts of Ninda, Muie, Mavinga, Chiume and Sessa.
13. In March 1983, an operation to recover the Czechoslovakian captives was carried out.
14. From January to June 1984, an operation to recover the eastern area and the important post of Kazombo was carried out.

UNITA MILITARY SITUATION

The period from 1966 to 1974, our operational area was in the following provinces: Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Bié, Malange and Lunda.

Our aim was to progress to the centre and north-east of the country. The operations were geared mainly to paralyse the railway line, roads and other positions which served as bastions to the colonial forces in their offensive campaigns against us during this period. Therefore, the following operations were carried out:

- September 1966 — Attack on the post of Lukusse e Kahungula.
- 4 December 1966 — Attack on Kassamba.
- 25 December — Attack on Teixeira de Sousa.
- 26 April 1974 — Attack on a Portuguese military company in an ambush in the areas of Kuete (Alto Cuito). In Luanda, General Costa Gomes was reported to have admitted that the attack was unprecedented.

PERIOD FROM 1974 TO 1976

The Armed Forces were deployed in the towns. Despite the massive invasion by Russians and Cubans, operational areas remained active, with the following theatres of operation:

- The Eastern theatre
- Cela
- Mussende
- Novo Redondo

PERIOD FROM 1976 TO 1977

This period marks the beginning of the resistance against the invasion of our country by the Russian-Cuban social-imperialists. In response, FALA established bases for mobile guerrilla units, whose actions were felt in the provinces of Huambo, Bié, Moxico, Benguela, Huila, Cuando Cubango, Cuanza Sul and Cunene.

The most relevant operations

- Destruction of a portion of the Benguela railway line between Kuemba and Cuanza (June of 1976).
- The shooting down of a C-130 and the taking of the town of Cuangar, on the 12th and 20th of July 1977 respectively.

THE PERIOD FROM 1977 TO 1984

- The capture of two Russian pilots on 14 November 1980.
- Two Cubans surrendered themselves in the area Matala.
- The capture of Mavinga on 13 March 1981.
- The destruction of a petroleum complex, PETRANGOL, in Luanda in November 1981.
- The capture of the post of Gago Coutinho on 6 November 1982.
- The destruction of two rail and road bridges over the Giraul river, in the province of Moçâmedes on 9 November 1982.
- Destruction of the strategic dam of Lomaum on 19 January 1983.
- The seizure of the town of Alto Catumbela, where 66 Czechoslovakians were captured on 12 March 1983.
- The capture of Munhango, on 20 May 1983.
- The capture of Kangamba on 14 August 1983.
- The capture of Kazombo on 25 December 1983.
- The capture of Kafunfu and the 16 British citizens in February 1984.
- The capture of Sumbe-Novo Redondo on 25 March 1984.
- The bomb explosion in the building occupied by the Cubans and Soviets in the city of Huambo on 19 July 1984.
- The destruction of a petroleum pipeline in Cabinda, on 12 July 1984.
- An attack on a motorized convoy coming from Menongue to Baixo Longa, on 29 July 1984.
- Warships loaded with war material sunk by bombs in the port of Luanda on 29 July 1984.
- The capture of the post of Cêrca, on 7 September 1984.
- The destruction of 8 electricity pylons on the Kambambe-Luanda network, on 10 October 1984.
- Capture of the post of Bula-Atumba, on 27 September 1984.

Digitized by Google

- The destruction of eight electricity pylons on the Mabubas-Luanda network, on 1 December 1984.
- Destruction of eight electricity pylons of the Network Mabubas-Caxito, on 9 December 1984.
- The destruction of a war material depot in a Cuban garrison in Luanda, on 12 December 1984.
- The capture of the post of Artur de Paiva, on 6 September 1984.
- The capture of the post of Belo Horizonte, on 2 November 1984.
- The capture of the post of Longonjo, on 8 December 1984.
- The capture of the post of Marco Canavezes, on 12 December 1984.
- The capture of the post of Vila Nova, on 20 December 1984.
- Attacks on various targets in the city of Huambo (Huambo Breweries-Cuca, Huambo's radio broadcasting station, Indumil and Ulisses), on 20 December 1984.
- The capture of the post of Xa-Muteba, on 24 December 1984.
- The capture of the post of Vila Nova Gaia, on 7 October 1984.
- The capture of the post of Nehone, on 30 November 1985.
- The destruction of 12 electricity pylons of the network Kambambe/Luanda, on 13 January 1985.
- The re-capture of the post of Kafunfu, where two Americans, three Britons and one Filipino were captured.

The objective of the most relevant engagements of FALA (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) was to materialize the periodic military strategies of the High Command and the following were the results:

- Paralysis of the rail and road communications network.
- Liberation, consolidation and control of a third of the Angolan territory.
- Liberation, and effective control of the southern and eastern frontiers of the country.
- Penetration of the provinces of Uige, Luanda, Zaire and Cabinda and subsequent preparations for extensive operations in the capital (Luanda).

At that stage, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola were not only defending the liberated territory but were also exploring the area, dislodging the enemy from various positions, which today constitute UNITA'S totally controlled territory.

In 1983 regular units, with their own internal organization and disciplinary rules were formed.

Today, 1985, FALA constitutes an army both in quality and quantity, given the means at its disposal and its technical and combative degree of preparedness.

ORGANIZATION

FALA is organized as follows:

- The militia
- Mobile small guerrilla units
- Companies of compact guerrilla units
- Semi-regular battalions
- Regular battalions
- Special commandos

Divisions

- Ground Artillery
- Anti-aircraft Artillery
- BATE
- TRMS

Services

- SIMI (Military Intelligence)
- Health
- Logistics
- Personnel

Structure

- At the head of the military hierarchy of FALA, is the High Commander with his General Staff.

Thus we have:

- High Commander
- COPE (Strategic Operational Command)
- EMG (The General Staff)
- Military Political Fronts
- Military Regions
- Operational Sectors
- Operational Units

"Only the armed forces can express in terms of power and bullets the anxiety and despair of a people that has not accepted the Cubans."

GENERAL SAVIMBI

Digitized by Google

Our main source of armaments is from the Russians and Cubans.

Digitized by Google

The anti-aircraft artillery of UNITA has increased its efficiency. The enemy's air force no longer violates with impunity the air space of the liberated territory of Angola.

Digitized by Google

Soviet weapons under UNITA control.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

The Forces for the Liberation of Angola are following the pace of contemporary history.

After having already encountered Mig, heavy helicopters, tanks and armoured cars, our glorious FALA are today strong and ready to face the destructive war machine of the Russians, Cubans and the MPLA.

Digitized by Google

FALA soldiers are disciplined and organized.

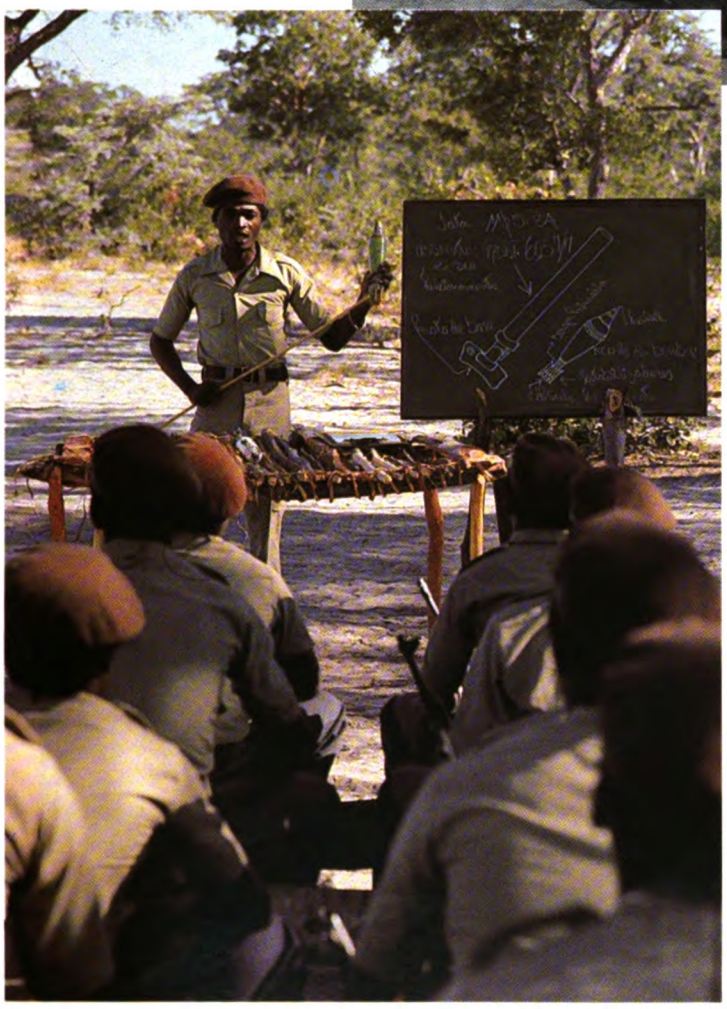
Commander KAFUNDANGA is an example to follow.

Digitized by Google

A Cuban motorized column that tried to supply Cuban units in Baixo-Longo, Quando-Cubango province, completely destroyed by UNITA.

Digitized by Google

Armoured Soviet manufacture cars being captured by FALA on various fighting fronts.

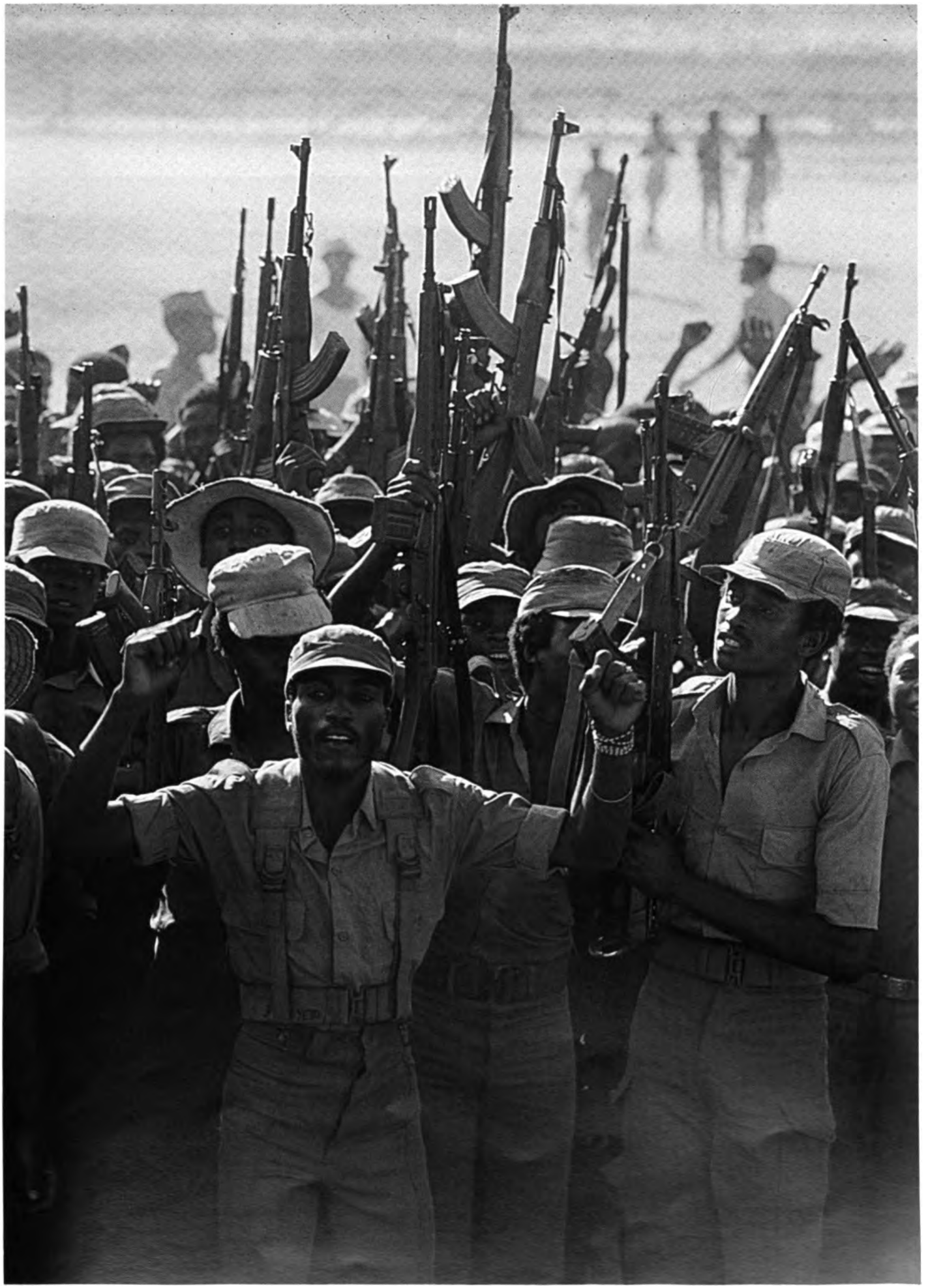


The Russian and Cuban enemy is being irremediably defeated due to UNITA's technical preparation.

Digitized by Google

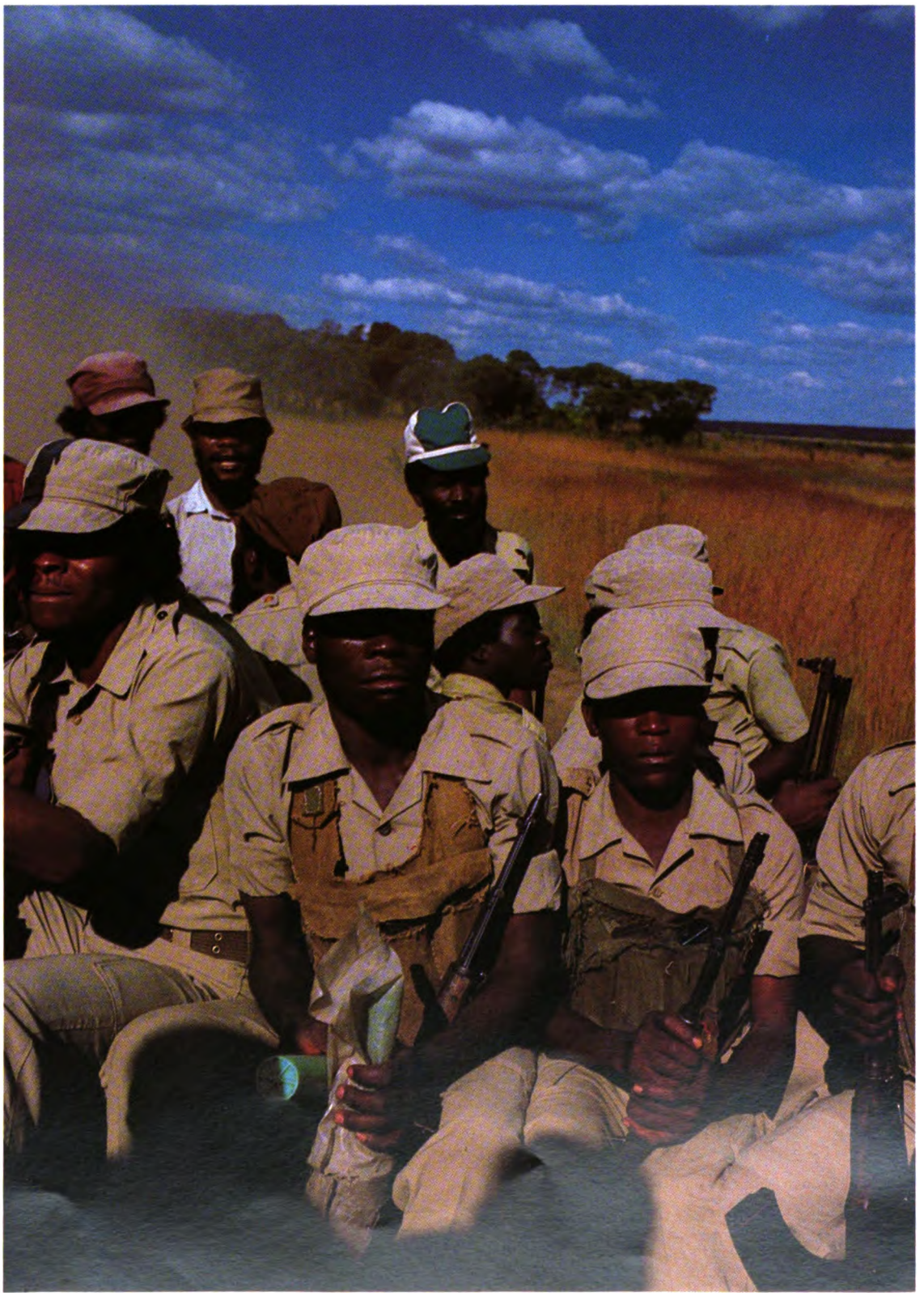
Training seriously to fight with strength.

Digitized by Google



The Angolan youth has voluntarily taken up arms in defence of the nation and in search of liberty.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

The hour is still ours;
In our country the hour is ours;
In Southern Africa the hour is ours,
So that we may write again
A beautiful page of
Our history, following
The example of the greats:
Ginga, Ekuikui, Mutuyakevela,
Mwachiyava and Ndunduma
The nation will soon triumph.

Digitized by Google

The Angolan woman is present in the ranks of the resistance for the total liberation of Angola.

Digitized by Google

LIMA

The founding of the Angolan Women's League (LIMA) on the 18th June 1973 in Massivi, province of Moxico, at the 8th Annual Conference of the Movement reflected the need of the women to actively participate, in an organized way, in the struggle for national liberation.

After its founding and its first Annual National Conference in November 1974, LIMA assumed the important task of mobilizing the masses in general and Angolan women in particular, persuading them politically and rallying them behind UNITA and its president, Dr SAVIMBI.

During UNITA's initiatives aimed at avoiding the break-out of the civil war in Angola, LIMA played a vital role by holding meetings admonishing of the dangers of war and staging demonstrations against the instigations of war. LIMA also participated in all public meetings addressed by President SAVIMBI.

LIMA has established a basic structure which has been developed and consolidated, during many years of the struggle, thus enabling the Angolan women to identify with their struggling country.

Since the second National Conference of Lima held in 1975 in Luso (capital of Moxico Province) and the fifth Conference held in Mavinga, province of Cuando Cubango in 1982, LIMA has turned itself into an instrument indispensable to the Movement. The Angolan women have become aware of their role in the liberation struggle and has proved their patriotism and courage even in difficult circumstances such as the 8th of February 1976.

LIMA — FATHERLAND
LIMA — UNITY

The political and organizational work of LIMA has been instrumental in making Angolan women aware of national problems.

The fundamental goal of the Angolan women's participaton in the struggle is an effective emancipation. They thereby gain equal status with men.

The Angolan women participate in various sectors for the development of the country: agriculture, education, social assistance and cultural promotion. As far as agriculture is concerned, LIMA has been engaged in organizing and motivating women for agricultural production while, at the same time, teaching the villagers the best ways for maximizing their produce, as well as the use of manure and diversification of crops, thus avoiding dependence on one crop, a characteristic of certain areas. The women are also engaged in activities such as education and culture, and especially the campaign aimed at alphabetizing the children.

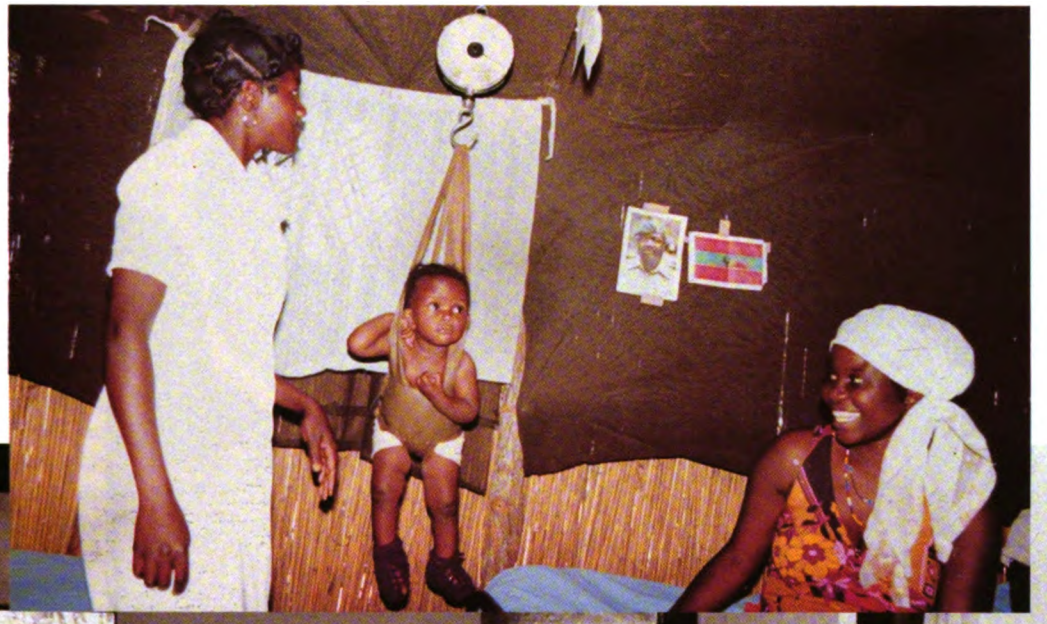
In so far as social services are concerned, LIMA is responsible for assisting the sick, the lame, orphans and others, requiring assistance.

UNITA is doing everything in its power in order to create opportunities for the women to undergo academic and professional training in order to enable them to participate in the national reconstruction of the country in the near future.

Digitized by Google

The Angolan woman participates actively in all fields.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Children, the future of the nation.

Digitized by Google

JURA

JURA (Youth Union of the Angolan Resistance) is the organization of the Movement, which controls, motivates and mobilizes the youth of both sexes to participate in the national liberation struggle.

The creation of JURA was inspired by the president of the Movement, Dr Jonas SAVIMBI, during the Conference held at Uria, in November 1974. In that year, JURA held its first National Conference.

JURA's rapid growth and its solid implantation in the hearts of the oppressed youths of Angola, is a confirmation of the justness of UNITA's programme. The underprivileged Angolan youth of the colonial society in Angola, workers, peasants and students for the first time had the opportunity to liberate themselves from the terrible and bitter night of Portuguese colonial oppression and confidently hoisted the flag of liberty.

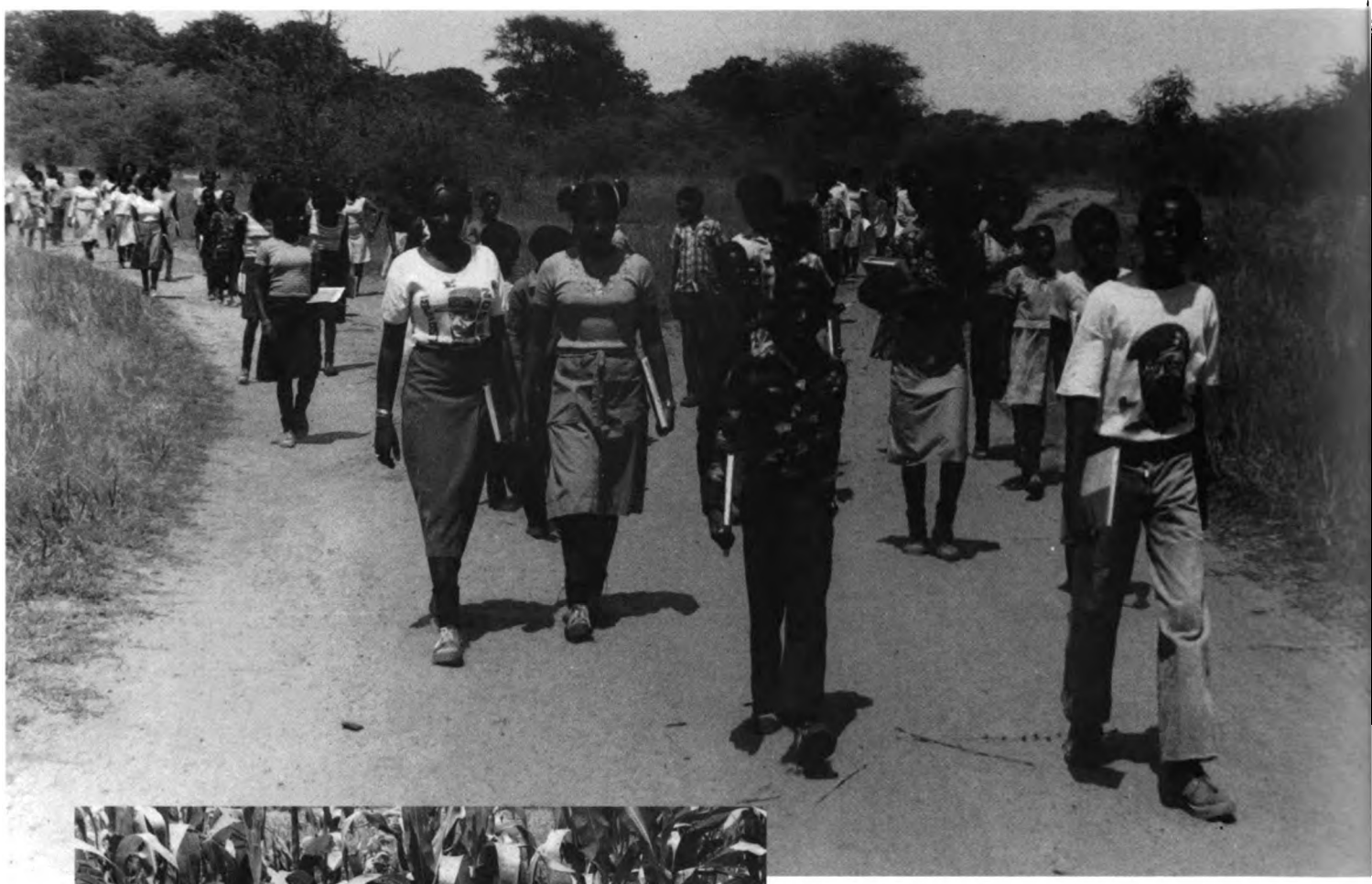
The stages of JURA's growth have until now been punctuated, by the holding of five National Youth Conferences, which turned the organization into an authentic instrument of the struggle, mobilizing the youth to fight for the liberty and the reconstruction of the country.

YOUTH

The 18th July is a day dedicated to all Angolan youths as a homage to a young commander, Samwimbila, a JURA patron. He is the symbol of bravery, the determination and the combative courage of the present generation which is charged with the historic mission of continuing the struggle in the name of those sons of the previous generations who shed their blood in the search for peace and respect for the Angolan people.

In the context of its political perspective, UNITA transmits via JURA to the children the good prospects and the certainty of a tomorrow, organizing them as an emerging force as well as a faithful back-up force which should continue to observe the ideals of the liberated Angolan nation being created today.

Digitized by Google



There is no hunger in our liberated areas.

Digitized by Google

UNITA AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The struggle against Russian-Cuban Imperialism is a reality well known in the world. This is part of the political and organizational dimension of UNITA, led by Dr Jonas SAVIMBI.

During all those years of fighting, UNITA has become a cohesive political force. UNITA has consolidated its structure and serves the national interests: total liberation of the Angolan territory; defence of the country; protection of the people and their wealth; public health; development of agriculture and cattle raising; education, etc. . . .

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The programme of UNITA in relation to medical assistance to the Angolan population, corresponds to the sacred aspirations of the Angolan people, who, during five centuries of colonization were subjected to the most difficult conditions in their lives.

The instruments for the fulfilment of this proramme are the health services, which were started from scratch. Today these are well structured, having a basic organizational framework which permits the assistance of the population wherever they are.

The health services have been in existence since the first national liberation war, during the period in which they played a very important role when taking into account the difficult conditions in which UNITA's armed struggle was conducted in the interior of the country.

The health services have managed to consolidate their organizational structure with the development of the struggle in all military regions, military bases and villages.

Apart from medical assistance to the population and the soldiers of FALA, UNITA's health service also paid attention to social assistance schemes, such as the providing of homes to orphans, widows, the mutilated, mental patients, war prisoners and the migratory population who receive medical and sanitary assistance, etc.

In collaboration with the Red Cross, steps have been taken aimed at the re-integration of the dislodged population, the physicaly handicapped, mental patients, orphans, etc., having for this purpose established rehabilitation camps, technical training centres, schools and nurseries.

UNITA's health service staff increases considerably every year. This increase is due to the establishment of a technical school which caters for the following: surgery, obstetrics, physiotheraphy, orthopaedy, etc., laboratory technicians, X-ray technicians, prothesists, dentists, pharmacists, etc.

These technicians are trained by medical doctors and nurses with many years of practical experience.

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT

After the long night of pitch-darkness under Portuguese colonialism, UNITA is involved in educating the Angolan people, in particular the youth, drawing their attention to the necessity of opposing all manifestations intended to prolong illiteracy and obscurantism in Angola. To this effect, UNITA has drawn up an education system which guarantees the integrity of the Angolan population as a people and as a nation on the right course to progress.

Within the context of the education programme UNITA feels that the responsibility of educating the Angolan people rests with the State. However, the State must authorize, support and encourage private education which should conform to the laws stipulated by the Government.

Presently, in the free territory of Angola, UNITA is developing a system of education free from foreign ideas, which cannot be reconciled with the realities of the country. This is Angola as envisaged by UNITA in which all Angolans will have access to educational facilities without any discrimination.

Under the Portuguese colonial regime the Angolan people witnessed their cultural pride being injured. Today, under the repressive MPLA regime, the practices, customs and traditions of the Angolan people are being ridiculed. It is against this betrayal that UNITA fights.

The cultural asphyxia of which the Angolan people are the victims, due to the forced sending of youths to Cuba for political indoctrination, constitutes the most barbarous provocation to our national interests. The cultural integrity of the Angolan people without foreign interference, permits development and progress.

A people that does not possess its own identity is condemned to be absorbed by other peoples and civilizations.

As far as UNITA is concerned, schools are nurseries of our future leaders, responsible men who are dedicated and faithful to the national cause, men who will continue with the tasks inspired by our great ancestors: Ginga, Ekuikui, Mutuyakevela, Mandume and others.

The Angolan nation has to build itself up. It is in the process of being built up by the resistance movement fighting against the Russian-Cuban presence in Angola.

The Angolan People, led by UNITA, regained their own mode of expression, acquired self-confidence and are now busy with national reconstruction.

AGRICULTURE — THE BASIS OF THE ANGOLAN ECONOMY

UNITA considers agriculture as the lever of Angola's economy and gives special attention to its development. Through agricultural services and animal-husbandry, UNITA is involved in planning and organizing progressive mechanization of agriculture in the territory under its effective control. This inspires the confidence of the population with regards to the future.

UNITA defends private initiative and reduces State intervention to a minimum. The farmer must be guaranteed of the presence of a market in order to enable him to dispose of his products. He should also receive material compensation, which would serve as an incentive to avoid an exodus of the population from the rural areas to the cities. The agriculture must be supported by light industry and by government subsidies, with regard to natural disasters.

The technicians in charge of UNITA's agriculture are trained in technical schools founded for that purpose. These schools are practical applications of the principles upheld by the central bodies of the movement for creating better conditions for the well-being of the population.

Agriculture is the basis for satisfying the needs of the population. The objective of UNITA is to improve the quality of life of the peasants who make up more than 80% of the population.

Digitized by Google

THE CHURCH IN THE FREE LAND OF ANGOLA

UNITA approves church action and charity which console the sorrowful and inspire hope.

As far as UNITA is concerned, the Church plays a very important role in the affairs of the country by clarifying to its members the vital national interests, by listening to the voice of its conscience and by identifying itself with defence to the interests of citizens, the common man, the sufferers and those who lack security.

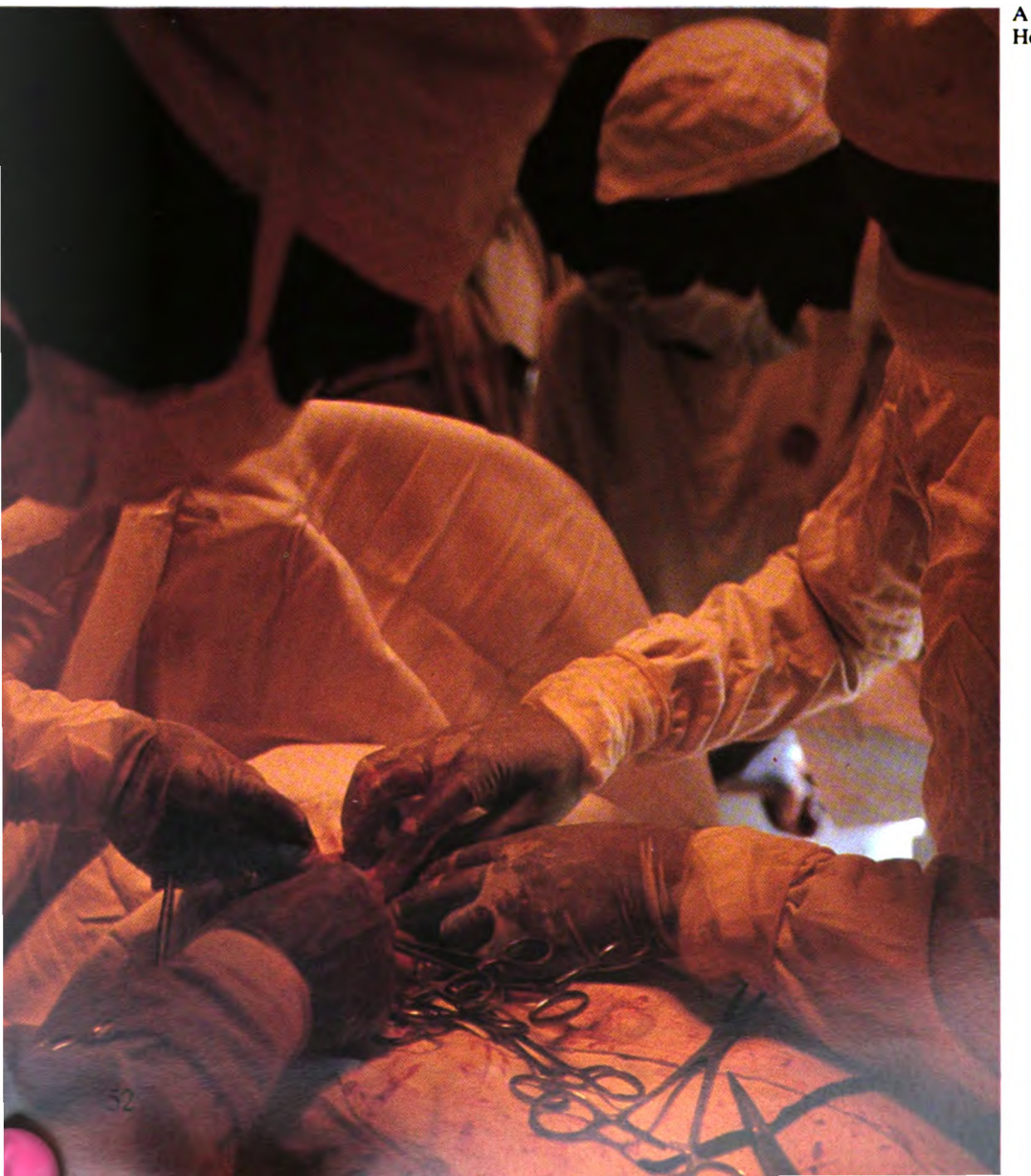
This is the ecclesiastical reality, as observed in the territory controlled by UNITA.

The true disciples of the Church in Angola condemn the occupation of this country by foreign forces. The Church cannot approve of alienating political policies. It is for this reason that the Church is also involved in the liberation struggle against neo-colonial oppression, using UNITA's controlled zones as a base.

UNITA condemns profane practices in sacred places such as the transformation of church buildings, seminaries, colleges and missions into barracks, as it has been the practice of the MPLA and the Cubans.

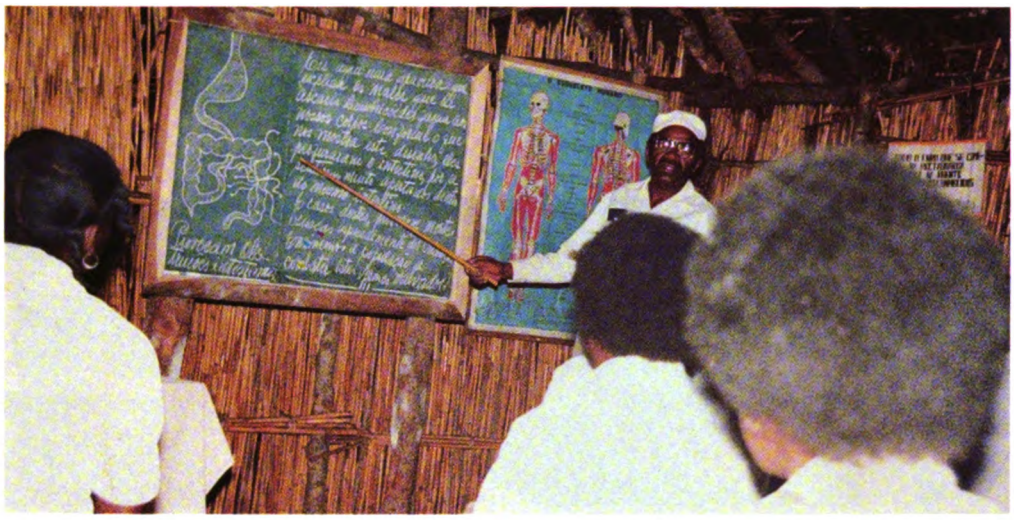
The Africans are people inseparable from their traditional religious values. Religion is a dynamic factor which plays a role in the preservation of traditional Angolan values.

UNITA's point of view is that Angola's liberty could only be meaningful under religious freedom.



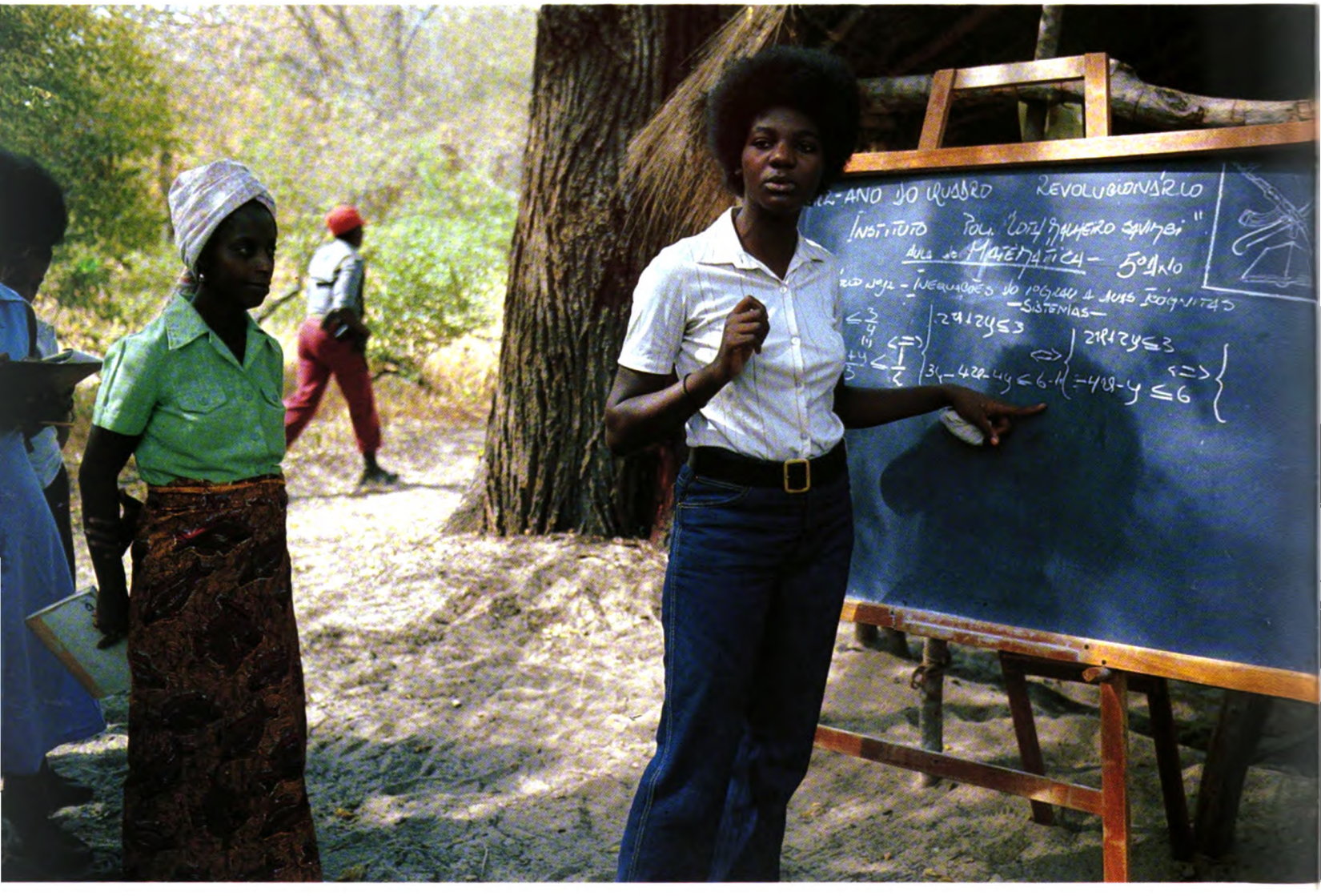
A surgical operation at the Jamba Central Hospital.

Digitized by Google



Training of cadres.

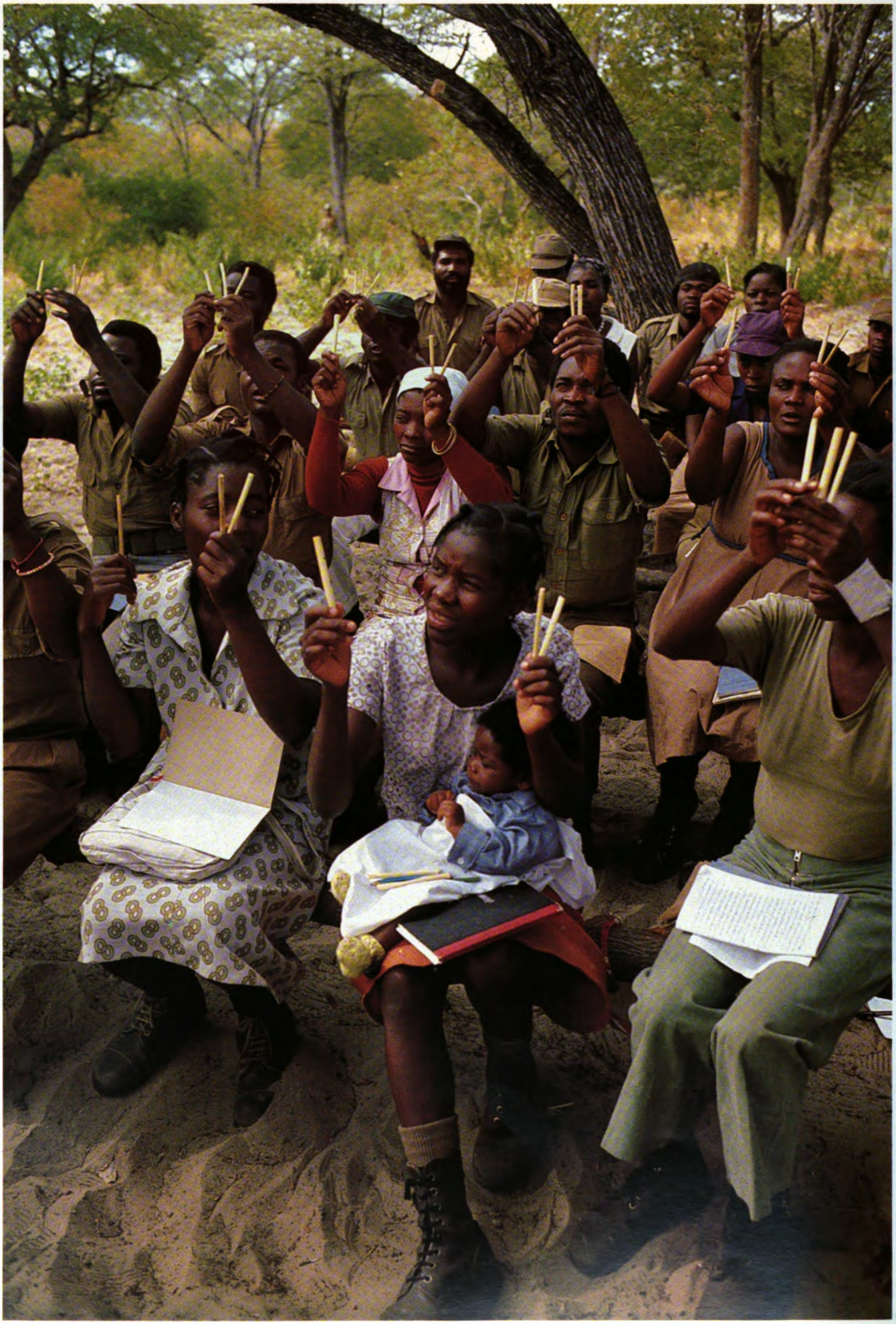
Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Only the cultural integrity of the Angolan people will permit its development and progress.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

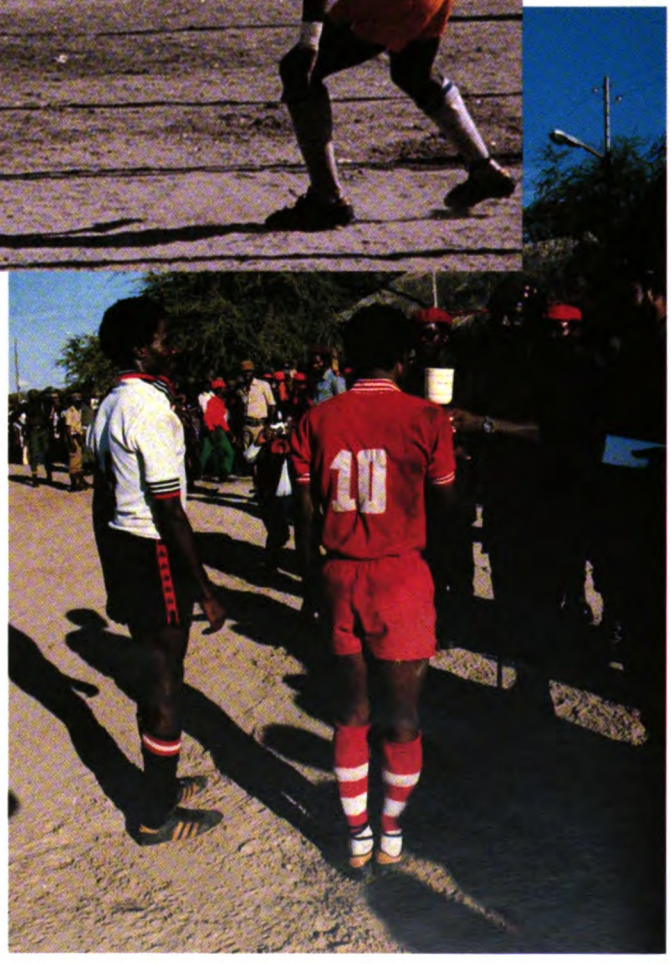
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Modern ballet and karate being practised during a recreative session in the free land of Angola.

Digitized by Google

In the vast free territory of Angola under the control of UNITA, the promotion of physical education and sport in all sectors is a reality.



Dr. SAVIMBI hands the cup to the winning team.

Digitized by Google

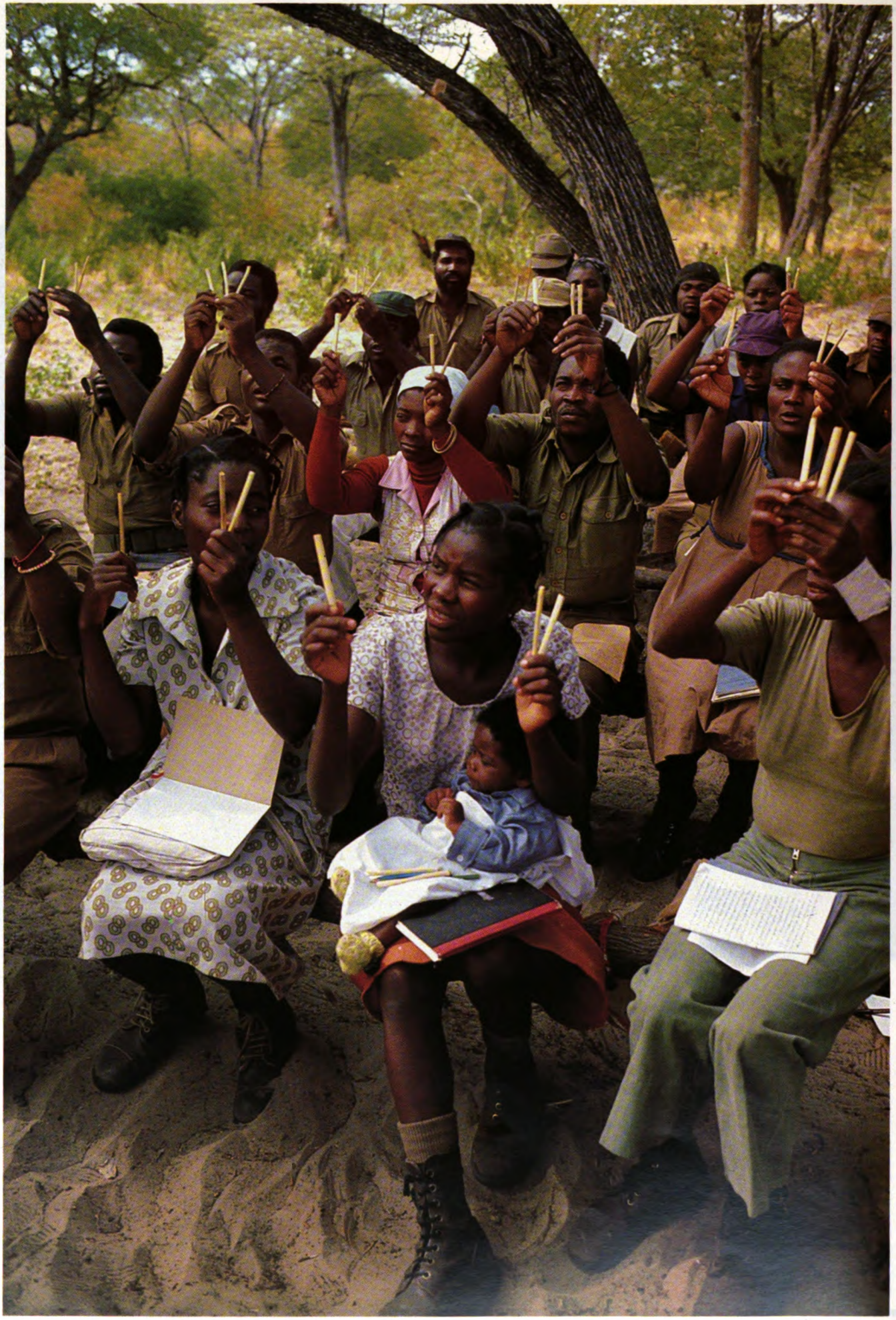
Agriculture is the lever of the Angolan economy.

Digitized by Google

In the free land of Angola, UNITA promotes modern agricultural methods.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

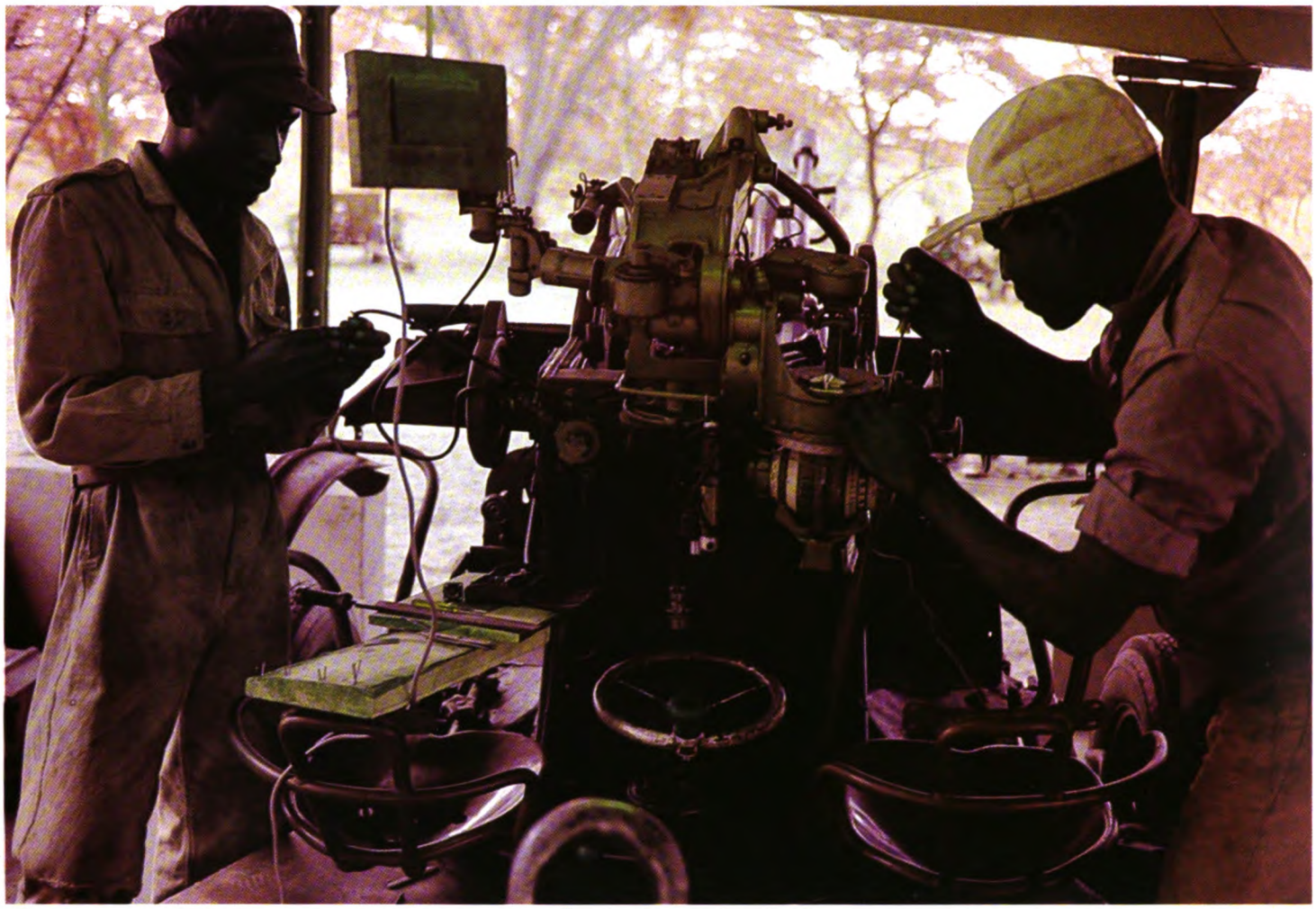


Digitized by Google

Modern ballet and karate being practised during a recreative session in the free land of Angola.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



UNITA's workshops at Jamba are equipped with power-driven tools which facilitate the easy repair, servicing and manufacture of a variety of vehicles, engines, weapons and other equipment.

Digitized by Google

In all our activities we should essentially count on our own resources.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

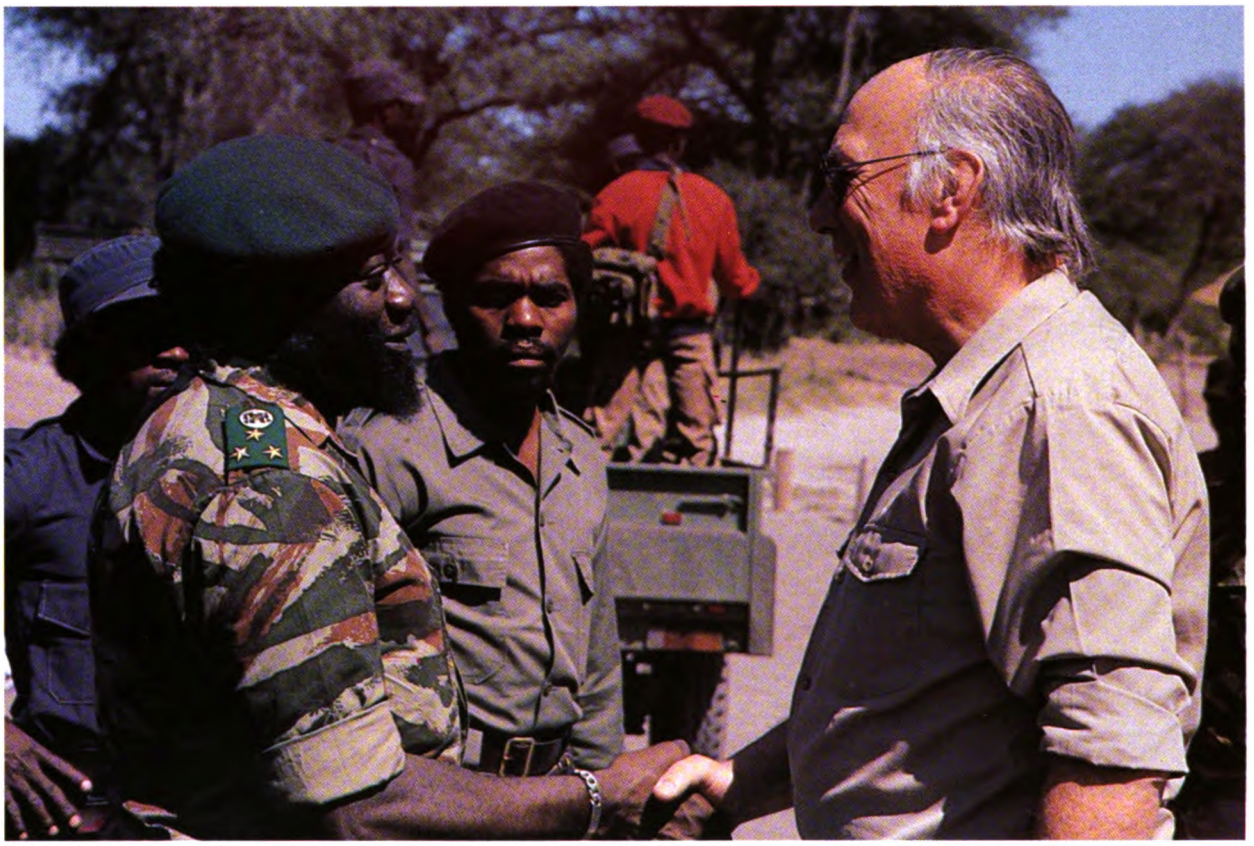
A driving school in the liberated territory.

Digitized by Google

The Church in the Angolan bush upholds the call for liberty.

Mass in a Church in the free land of Angola.

Digitized by Google



Sir John Leahy, representative of the Government of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the second, talking to President SAVIMBI in Jamba, capital of Free Angola, in May, 1984.

Digitized by Google

UNITA ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

STRIVING FOR LIBERTY

"THE ANGOLAN SOUL NEVER DIES"
For the past 500 years we, Angolans, have strived for liberty.

For centuries we heroically fought against oppression, humiliation and foreign domination in order to gain liberty and the general well-being of all peoples on this planet, so that, in the end, peace and happiness could be achieved.

Our heroic forefathers, like Queen Ginga, King Ekuikui, Mutuyakevela, Muachiavwa, Numa, Mandume and many others, fought and set an example. Today UNITA, as the legitimate representative of the oppressed Angolan people, does everything in its power to resist against Russian-Cuban invasion which is ravaging our beloved country, Angola.

In April of 1974, it was thought that we had found the peace necessary for embarking on the task of the reconstruction of the country and the restoration of the real socio-cultural values, which identify us as Angolans, in the context of nations and the peoples of the world; but, unfortunately, due to the wealth of our beautiful country and its geographical location on the African continent, the expansionistic and hegemonic forces of the USSR by using its internal and external agents, fomented chaos by provoking the atrocious civil war, which culminated in imposing upon the Angolan people a bloodthirsty minority government in Luanda.

The Angolan people could not accept defeat as a "fait accompli". They opted for resistance against oppression and the foreign occupation of our country, their motto being, "THE ANGOLAN SOUL NEVER DIES."

History bears witness to the fact that UNITA is a political-military force which, during the anti-colonial struggle against the Portuguese saved the Angolan people from their fate. The leadership of UNITA, in the person of the President, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, led the liberation struggle in the interior of the country for as long as the war lasted. This was not the case with the other Angolan organizations (liberation movements). Their leaders and military headquarters were in foreign countries.

UNITA was the creator of the unity so much desired by the Angolan people. It is in this respect that UNITA convened the Mombasa Conference in Kenya, on the 5th of January 1975, in order to establish a commom platform. The outcome was the negotiations with the Portuguese at Alvor, Portugal, on the national independence of Angola.

Who, if not UNITA, truly negotiated for Angolan independence with the Portuguese authorities in Alvor? While UNITA courageously and with political realism defended liberty, peace and the need for the reconciliation of all Angolans, the hegemonic Angolan forces in the service of the superpowers, were already plotting against the same peace by recruiting mercenaries with a view to invading our rich, beautiful country, thus causing once more the shedding of the blood of Angolan patriots, who had already suffered so much during five centuries of Portuguese colonialism.

The Alvor Conference (Portugal) held from the 10th to the 15th of January 1975, notwithstanding certain imperfections, was, apart from other fundamental political and juridical dispositions a political mile-stone, judging from the resulting agreement.

1. The three liberation movements present were recognized as the only representatives of the Angolan people (art 10 Chapter I).
2. In very clear and inequivocal terms, it was decided upon the holding of elections in Angola, as the most adequate form for guaranteeing peaceful transfer of power for the country's accession to independence.
3. It was stipulated that full independence and sovereignty for Angola would solemnly be proclaimed on the 11th of November 1975 (Art 4, Chapter I).

Those who feared the verdict of the Angolan people, that is to say the liberation movements with hegemonic tendencies but without the support of the Angolan majority, violated the Alvor Agreement, which was the only politico-juridical instrument nationally and internationally recognized concerning the accession of Angola to independence.

To further complicate the process of peaceful decolonization, certain Portuguese authorities belonging to the MFA (Movement of the Armed Forces) controlled by the pro-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party, deliberately failed to comply with the agreement. They ceased to maintain law and order and joined the MPLA in its unjustified armed attacks against other liberation movements, notably UNITA, an act which was absolutely contrary to the legal stipulations contained in paragraphs (a) and (c) of Article 13, Chapter II.

In this way, the Alvor Agreement which was recognized by the principal international organizations, such as the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, was replaced by naked violence, due to the arbitrary intervention of foreigners.

Angola has become a propitious testing ground for the sophisticated weapons of the big powers.

It is a fact that the Russians surprised the world, by intervening in Angola with tens of thousands of mercenaries of Cuba and other countries in order to kill Angolan patriots in their own country. It is a well-known fact that the intervening Cuban troops in the service of Soviet imperialism, started arriving in Angola, in Luanda, to be more precise, in January 1975, on the occasion of the formation of the transitional government.

Their numbers were increased in April, on the occasion of the visit to that city by the President of UNITA, Dr SAVIMBI.

WHO SUBMITTED THE ALVOR ACCORD TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE FOR APPROVAL?
HOW DID THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE REACT TO THE RESULTS OF ALVOR?

After the Alvor Accords, in which the Angolan future had been decided upon, a meeting with the Angolan people was imperative for any truly democratic and patriotic Angolan organization, so that they could give their opinion on the results attained and so that each Angolan

Digitized by Google

could know of the immediate and medium-term implications of the process of decolonization which was to take effect. In this way, each Angolan could conscientiously assume his or her historical responsibility, both at national and international levels.

However, the only leader who immediately returned to Angola in order to explain the Alvor Accords, with a view to having them approved by the people of the country was the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas SAVIMBI. The leaders of other liberation movements chose to go and meet their foreign, advisers in Portugal and other capitals in order to prepare or better still, to finalize their sinister plans against the treaty which they had signed a few days before.

The President of UNITA held meetings in the principal cities of Angola: Luso, Huambo, Lobito, Lubango, Onjiva, Moçâmedes and Luanda. Thus, the people of Angola got a first-hand detailed explanation of the significance of the Alvor Accords.

The reception organized for the President of UNITA in the capital of Huambo Province, on the 27th of January 1975, was attended by more than half a million people. This was sufficient proof that the leadership of our Movement, during eight years of struggle in the bush, had completely identified itself with the cause and aspirations of the oppressed people. This identification was real, authentic and free of coercion.

There will never be a similar demonstration in Angola again.

On the 26th of April 1975, the President visited Luanda. This time, the truth was revealed. The myths entertained by the USSR, the Portuguese Communist Party and their stooges, vanished in the light of truth. The Luanda inhabitants applauded enthusiastically. Radio Luanda broadcasters commented that the President of UNITA came and won over the citizens of Luanda, demonstrating that the President, Dr Jonas SAVIMBI, had the support of all the Angolan people.

There is no doubt that the people of Luanda will one day fill the streets with the same patriotic eagerness when UNITA again returns to the capital of the country.

Commenting on the historic visit, UNITA's president writes that it was on this day, the 26th of April 1975, that all illusions, entertained by its advisers, the Russians and the Portuguese communists about the MPLA's popularity and supremacy proved to be false.[1]

It was on this day that all the intentions of the MPLA to participate in the democratic game vanished.

"Until my arrival, the leadership of MPLA had entertained the illusion of being in control of Luanda and propagated this view. On this day, they understood that a lot of humble people of the capital had nothing in common with them in the same way as Huambo, Luso, Lobito, Lubango and Onjiva."

The people saw in the UNITA leader the representative of the oppressed people of Angola.

"In their simple philosophy, the people really understood by whom their interests would be defended. In doing so they also acknowledged the suffering UNITA went through. UNITA respects everyone and thus it adopted a social justice programme of equality for all people.

"On the other hand those who, for a long time, tended to identify UNITA only with the population of the South, were on this day assured that, what identifies a liberation movement is not the region of its origin, but the attitudes and aspirations of the population."[2]

Continuing his declarations, the President of UNITA added:

"Huambo and Luanda were turning-points in the history of UNITA. But as far as the leadership of UNITA was concerned, it meant that their indisputable popularity demanded greater responsibilities of them, while the self-same popularity served as a warning. The risks of civil war were imminent and the forces available were insufficient as a deterrent to the horde of vultures which were on the look-out for an opportunity to conquer Angola."

"UNITA was in need of finding ways and means to attenuate the shock. The shock which was inevitable all along."[3]

WAS AFRICA IN A POSITION TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAMES OF WAR IN ANGOLA IN 1975–1976?

Angola in flames. The country was covered in blood. Youths were drugged. Professional robbers and other outsiders from the shanty compounds were armed and incited to attack their compatriots who had been leaving a peaceful life, wanting to see their country in liberty at peace and reconciled. The MPLA used the most wicked, unscrupulous, blood-thirsty killers in the name of the so-called "Popular Power". They were controlled and supported by elements of the Portuguese Army and Cuban mercenaries spreading pain and sorrow, destroying the infra-structure of the country, the schools of our children, the hospitals for the deprived population, electrical installations, etc.

Angola was transformed into a lawless country, a chaotic country, ready for imperialist intervention.

The gearing of intervention and counter-intervention was put into operation, initiated by a superpower, the Soviet imperialists.

Faithful to his patriotic and earnest Pan-Africanist vocation, the President of UNITA once more appealed to the African leaders, in order that they help restore peace and national harmony, favourable to the holding of democratic general elections as anticipated in the Alvor Accords.

It is in this spirit that, with the support of the great majority of the oppressed Angolan people and with the understanding and sympathy of the late President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo KENYATA, UNITA's President, Dr SAVIMBI, once again succeeded in convening another summit conference in Nakuru, Kenya, in June of 1975. This conference was attended by the three Angolan liberation movements. For the Angolan movements in favour of hegemony, Nakuru meant another armistice.

"It is true that everything was done and organized in such a way as to achieve an equilibrium amongst the three movements, thus, avoiding temporary supremacy of one over the others, a move which would push Angola into a civil war, turning innocents into victims. Everything was nevertheless, in a state of confusion."

"The Nakuru Conference was UNITA's last attempt to achieve peace, to which the suffering people of Angola had an incontestable right."[4]

[1] Page 51, "Angola — Resistance in search of a new nation". Author: Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.
[2] Page 52, "Angola — Resistance in search of a new nation". Author: Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.
[3] Op. cit. Page 53.

Digitized by Google

For the Angolan patriots, there were only two alternatives: to resist the monstrous Soviet-Cuban war machine alone, or to accept their fate and lead the life of slaves forevermore, allowing the destruction of Angolan social-cultural values and Angolan identity.

The President of UNITA, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, chose the path of honour and dignity and said no! to Russian and Cuban imperialism. Consequently he launched an appeal to the Angolan people for national resistance.

The reply was massive: men, women and children, the old and the young, armed and unarmed soldiers, all heeded the appeal and followed their leader to defy history.

It is our hope that the country will always appreciate this historic act of the President of UNITA, which is of a transcendental dimension. Our struggle is for our physical and spiritual survival.

Today a strong UNITA is emerging from the ruins of oppression, with an organized and disciplined army — FALA, which is making history, already having liberated a large part of our national territory. All this was made possible by the wise counsel of Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, High Commander of FALA and President of UNITA.

[4] Op. cit. Page 58.

THE CUBAN ISSUE

"The problem that we want to examine here is the Cuban issue. What is the position of UNITA in relation to the Cubans? It is important that we state clearly that the Cubans were not invited to Angola by any legal government, since in January 1975 there was no legal government in existence, only the coalition government formed by the three national liberation movements. It was however during this time that the Cubans started penetrating the country. The Cubans came to Angola to fulfil the expansionist ambition of the Soviets. The Cubans were invited by the MPLA minority regime in order to crush the Angolan people's resistance led by UNITA. After seven years of struggle the Angolan people know and FALA bears testimony to the fact that the Cubans have failed completely in their vain attempt to destroy the resistance of the Angolan people. The Cubans have also failed in defending the areas, which for the time being, are within the domain of the MPLA, against the incursions of the South Africans. The South Africans move about freely without any reply from the Cubans. Of what use are the Cubans? What did the Cubans come here for? The Cubans, even the simplest soldiers, are paid ten times more than the best Angolan cadres. The Cubans are paid from the petroleum revenue, apart from profit they make on diamonds. In addition to enriching themselves here, the Cubans also create a happy and luxurious live for the Cuban masters in Havana, while our people continue to live in misery without any acceptable minimum social amenities for a supposedly independent people.

What is the role of the Cubans in Angola? The Cubans are here in Angola in order to impede national reconciliation, to obstruct the road to peace in our country and to deny Angolans the right to happiness, which is the aspiration of all sincere Angolans. But at present the most important task of the Cubans is to prevent a peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia. Namibia has a right to its independence and liberty. There are some misguided MPLA members who are known to have said, and repeatedly so, that the Namibian issue was and is not linked to the withdrawal of the expeditionary Cuban forces from Angola. This is not true: until the Cubans entered Angola, the problems of Africa used to be resolved by Africans, through the orientation of the Organization for African Unity. From the time of the Cuban intervention, the problems of Southern Africa have assumed the proportions of the conflict between the West and the East. The Cubans have transformed the area and our country into an element of dispute between Russia and America because the Cubans constitute an element which is foreign to our continent.

There should be no illusions that while the Cubans remain in Angola, the problems of this country and Southern Africa are a long way off from being purely within the African ambit. The MPLA has no will or capacity and cannot acquire any power or authority to solve the Namibian or Angolan issue without the involvement of the big powers. The MPLA by virtue of having invited the Cubans to Angola, has made it possible for the disputes in Southern Africa to change from being purely African to being international. Without the Cubans, the MPLA could never have succeeded to conquer the city of Luanda where, at this very moment, the MPLA find themselves in a desperate life and death struggle. Should the Cubans not leave our country, peace will never be attained in Angola or in Southern Africa. The MPLA leaders have understood this fact and it is for this reason that they are negotiating with the Americans.

The most sincere MPLA militants and patriots should have undersood the dilemma which the MPLA finds itself in, negotiating in an attempt to salvage what they think could still be salvaged.

The Angolan equation could be reduced to a very simple formula:

"Peace is only possible through the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the formation of a government of national unity in which UNITA has a central role to play.

Peace, which means liberty to Namibia, is subject to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and is subject to peace being resorted in our own country."

Extract from an adress by the President of UNITA and High Commander of FALA, Dr Jonas M. SAVIMBI, broadcast on radio the Voice of Resistance of "GALO NEGRO". 1982. Pages 2, 3 and 4.

Digitized by Google

CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST HUMANITY BY RUSSIAN-CUBAN IMPERIALISM IN ANGOLA

The intervening troops who are in the service of Russian-Cuban imperialism, have been committing grave crimes against the Angolan people.

Angolan patriots are shot for their convictions, for wanting to see their country free from foreign oppression; men are being amputated without any valid medical justification; women are being sterilized in order to reduce the birth-rate of the Angolan people, thus, facilitating the occupation of Angola by colonial Cuban soldiers who are in Angola under cover of being so-called *civilian technicians*.

The list of crimes committed against humanity is much longer, but we wish to give prominence to the names of certain compatriots who gave up their lives for the ideals of liberty.

Our martyrs of liberty who were barbarously assassinated in Lobito on the 3rd of December 1978 by those who, as far as our country is concerned, have only been known to be dishonourable men and as for the values of men, only retain the quality of animals:

1 — ARTUR ELAVOKO ALBINO PRESENT!
2 — ARMANDO KAPITYA PRESENT!
3 — NOÉ KESSONGO PRESENT!
4 — ELISEU MARTINHO PRESENT!
5 — ALBERTO MANUEL SALOMÃO PRESENT!

Our martyrs of liberty who were barbarously asassinated in Luanda on the 5th of August 1980, by those who as far as our county is concerned, have only been known to be dishonourable men and as for the values of men, only retain the quality of animals:

1 — ARMANDO KESSONGO PRESENT!
2 — ABIAS KAYEYE PRESENT!
3 — MENDES AUGUSTO PRESENT!
4 — ANTÓNIO KAPAKALA PRESENT!
5 — JOÃO E. KAVIMBI PRESENT!
6 — ARÃO KANJULO PRESENT!
7 — EMIDIO NUÑULO PRESENT!
8 — GONÇALVES S. VICENTE PRESENT!
9 — ARTHUR E. QUARENTINHA PRESENT!
10 — FRANCISCO F. MACHADO PRESENT!
11 — BENTO SALOMÃO PRESENT!
12 — VICTOR CHAMATAMBA PRESENT!
13 — JOSÉ K. KINGANGO PRESENT!
14 — MANUEL KAPINA PRESENT!

MAY THE COUNTRY LIVE ETERNALLY.

UNITA ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

"The fact that UNITA is confronted with great danger has already become part of history and we consequently justify ourselves in receiving assistance from any individual who may be prepared to help us without preconditions and without forcing us to mortgage our future or to become the agents of any party."

Dr JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI

THE HISTORICAL TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA IN 1981

THE FIRST DIMENSION OF THE TOUR OF THE U.S.A

The United States of America recognise Unita as a "legitimate political force which must be taken into account in Angola".

Six years of hard struggle and sacrifice were necessary in order to rectify the biggest historical political error in contemporary history.

To this end, it was imperative that the beloved sons of the fatherland should make sacrifice, so that Angola may live eternally. How many of our companions with whom we share trenches in search of liberty have fought on the plains, in the mountains, in the cities and along the Benguela international railway line, (CFB), in order to defend the country threatened by the Russian-Cuban imperialists! They fulfilled their sacred responsibility, they died as heroes, setting an example which hitherto has no parallel in the annals of Africa and the world.

The official public recognition of UNITA as "a legitimate political force which must be taken into account in Angola", was a marvellous break-through in the international arena and was an event about which the Angolan people felt happy and proud. This victory is directly attributable to President SAVIMBI.

Recognition was accorded to UNITA by a superpower, the United States of America, during the visit by President SAVIMBI in December 1981. It was the first time in history, that a Western country had officially recognized a national liberation movement.

The victory achieved is of great dimension in political, diplomatic and judicial circles because it calls into question the whole basis on which the regime of the sell-outs of the fatherland has been founded.

The myth is over! UNITA's international legitimacy has been reaffirmed.

It is quite clear that the so-called government of Luanda, was put into power through military intervention by Cuban and other mercenary forces serving Soviet imperialism. This means that the Angolan people never had an opportunity to freely elect their legitimate representatives as had been envisaged in the Alvor Accords which stipulated the process of decolonization.

The warm reception which the President of UNITA, Dr SAVIMBI, received in the United States of America and the official discussions held with high-ranking personalities of that country's government, were the result of great effort and success of

Digitized by Google

the Angolan people, judiciously led by UNITA under the leadership of its President. This historical tour has introduced an element of new dynamism in the world diplomacy with respect to Angola.

National sovereignty which has cost the lives of thousands of the Angolan people has been sold to the Soviet Union by the nominal Luanda government.

What is the true meaning of the recognition of the Luanda MPLA government by the African and other countries of the world? For some of these countries, recognition reflected political opportunism, aimed at their participation in the exploitation of our country's wealth.

Other countries, showing weakness and lack of courage and combative spirit, hastily raised the white flag for fear that the Cuban soldiers may cross their borders and overthrow their governments. As we can see, no one recognized the government of the Angolan people. In reality, they recognized the governments of the Soviet Union and Cuba as true oppressors of the Angolan people, using as the instrument of oppression Agostinho Neto's clique.

As far as the government of the United States of America is concerned, and according to international law, MPLA is purely and simply a political organization which does not represent the majority of the Angolan people, nor does it exercise any jurisdiction over political and administrative affairs, and more than that, it does not have military control over the whole national territory.

The reality in Angola is altogether contrary to the dreams of the Luanda regime. One third of the national territory is completely liberated and controlled by UNITA. UNITA has extended its politico-military activities to another third. The other third is, for the time being, under the fragile jurisdiction of the MPLA.

There is, of course, a solution to the struggle in Angola. The Angolan equation is limited to a very simple formula: peace in Angola is only possible through the withdrawal of the Cubans from our country and the formation of a government of national unity in which, UNITA has a role to play. Peace which means liberty to Namibia is subjected to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the re-establishment of peace in our country.

Much has been said on the obstacles regarding the solution of the Southern African conflict. Moscow is the real obstacle. The motives of the Cubans and Soviets are evident. Not only do they want to maintain the MPLA in power but they also want to transform our country into a platform for Moscow's expansionist ambitions.

THE SECOND DIMENSION OF THE TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES

The president of UNITA, Dr SAVIMBI, is a patriotic personality of confirmed competence in politico-military affairs.

President SAVIMBI's historical tour of the United States of America has been projected to the world in various ways. Let us then consider the second dimension.

In the first instance, it was a positive historical fact, uparalleled in the diplomatic annals of the Western world, that UNITA was officially and publicly recognized by the government of the United States of America as a legitimate political force which must be taken into account in Angola. However, the American and international community were also involved: academics, strategists of world renown, international journalists and analysts, diplomatic representatives of the Western, Eastern and African world. In short, the entire international public opinion was represented. After the President of UNITA's press conferences, university lectures and official discussions with top civil servants of the State Department, senators and congressmen, the conclusion was drawn and an unequivocal public announcement was made that the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas SAVIMBI, is a political-military leader of confirmed competence.

The cause of liberty for the Angolan people was well defended. The political and socio-cultural identity of Angola and its genuine subjects was well represented. The peoples of Africa scored a great political and diplomatic victory due to the tour of the United States of America by the President of UNITA.

We, the Angolan people, feel proud of being what we are at present and were in the past — Angolans.

What was the reaction of the world to the tour by President SAVIMBI of the United States of America?

There was notable restraint of criticism on the part of the African countries in relation to the triumphant tour of the United States of America by the incontestable leader of the Angolan people, Dr SAVIMBI, notwithstanding the MPLA's public request for support from the OAU and African countries.

There was no time, Luanda was aflame. Petrangol had been attacked by the glorious FALA and the world was shaken. The city of Luanda, where thousands of Cubans are, was in flames.

In conclusion, we wish to stress that in all the meetings held with political personalities, members of the international press and businessmen, the President of UNITA defended the profound legitimate interests of the Angolan people.

He vehemently denounced the crimes committed by the invading Cuban forces and their international agents.

Public opinion was that of revolt and astonishment and the abominable crimes perpetrated by the Soviet-Cuban imperialists against humanity in Angola: continuous unjustified amputations, sterilization of women, assassination of men and women who defend liberty, cultural genocide which consists in massive and obligatory sending of children to Cuba for political indoctrination on the islands of Pines.

The tour of the United States of America by the President of UNITA in December 1981 was a great success and constitutes a milestone in th history of Angola, Africa and the world.

OTHER COUNTRIES WERE ALSO VISITED BY THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA

The historical tour of various countries of the world by the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, lasted about three months. European Western countries, as well as the African and Middle-East countries welcomed the incontestable Angolan leader with enthusiasm.

Apart from having been received by high-ranking personalities representing the legislative and executive power as well as various institutions, the President of UNITA held several press conferences.

We would like to stress that in London, Dr SAVIMBI had the opportunity to address the members of the Institute of Strategic Studies.

It was a great privilege and honour for a leader of a liberation movement to address this institute.

Important analysts on international

Digitized by Google

problems are still commenting on Dr SAVIMBI's address.

PRESIDENT SAVIMBI RETURNS TO ANGOLA

"Return to Angola which believes today which believes in its struggle and its cause which believes in anti-Cuban solidarity solidarity in the world today is anti-Cuban"[1]

"We never parted from Angola forever now we shall return to Luanda Luanda which received and rewarded us Luanda which will be the end of the road".[2]

The President of UNITA's tour abroad was followed very closely in all its stages by all Angolan patriots, thanks to the detailed news coverage of these historical events by foreign broadcasting corporations. Having fulfilled his mission, the President of UNITA, Dr SAVIMBI, defender of the profound and legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people, returned to the fatherland. There were no doubts that his return, in order to continue fighting with the Angolan resistance, is an unparalleled phenomenon in the history of the peoples and nations

In all the regions liberated by UNITA the population celebrated this special reunion with the most beloved son of the Angolan people with pomp and enthusiasm.

[1] and [2] — Extracts from the poem entitled "Returning" written by Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI.

INTENSE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES IN THE FREE TERRITORY OF ANGOLA

"Jamba the cradle of diplomacy which liberates the Angolan people"

From August 1982, the political, military and diplomatic situation in Angola has been changing radically in favour of UNITA. UNITA has had remarkable successes in the military field and succeeded in liberating entire areas in which it has started to establish institutions such as health, education and agricultural projects, in order to test its ability to govern.

Thanks to the wise leadership of President SAVIMBI, UNITA managed to secure important diplomatic victories, which provoked and enhanced the debate on the alternative government to the nominal, corrupt Luanda regime imposed on the Angolan people by the invading Cuban and other mercenaries. Jamba has become one of the centres of activity and debate on the future of Southern Africa in general and Angola in particular.

A number of important delegations of foreign personalities representing their governments and world press, ranging from Western to Socialist countries, visited the free territory of Angola.

These important delegations had offical discussions with UNITA's leadership and also visited the vast Angolan territory under the politico-administrative and military jurisdiction of UNITA.

A JOINT COMMUNIQUE FROM THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF UNITA AND THE FOUR DEPUTIES FROM THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Four European MP's accepted the invitation of the president of UNITA, Dr Jonas SAVIMBI, to visit the liberated areas of Angola. The four MP's were:

Mr Olivier d'ORMESSON, French Deputy, Christian Democratic Party, Republic of France; Sir James Scott HOPKINS, British Conservative Party, United Kingdom; Elmer BROCK, German Christian Democratic Party, Federal Republic of Germany; and Luc Beyer de RIKE, Belgium Liberal Party, Kingdom of Belgium. After a long journey in complete safety through the zone liberated by UNITA, they visited several installations both military and civilian. They also visited the Czech prisoners. The four were impressed by the warmth of their welcome and the quality of the organization. They had several long talks with President SAVIMBI and his cabinet.

The four MP's share the opinion with President SAVIMBI, that UNITA is capable of controlling the whole of Angola, but UNITA hope to be able to negotiate with the Luanda government for national reconciliation. The extent of UNITA's military success combined with the full support of the civilian population gives legitimacy to President SAVIMBI's aims of freeing his country fom all occupying forces, Cubans, Soviets and East Germans.

President SAVIMBI clearly indicated that his objective was the establishment of a democratic regime in Angola where foreign investment would be guaranteed and welcomed.

Both parties agreed that peace and independence for Angola was the key to peaceful self-determination for Namibia and the re-establishment of a lasting peace in Southern Africa.

Central base of UNITA in Jamba, Angola, 16 July 1983 — The Year of Anti-Cuban Production.

ON BEHALF OF UNITA SIGNED BY:
Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI,
President of Unita
ON BEHALF OF THE EUROPEAN MP's SIGNED BY:
Mr Olivier d'ORMESSON, Christian Democrat,
Republic of France
Sir James Scott HOPKINS, British Conservative,
United Kingdom
Mr Elmer BROCK, German Christian Democrat,
Federal Republic of Germany
Mr Luc Beyer de RIKE, Belgian Liberal,
Kingdom of Belgium

Digitized by Google

POLITICAL REALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA — FACTS AND REALITIES

The problems of Southern Africa have been the cause of great concern to various heads of state, governments, organizations and internatioanl observers who seek to find a viable solution which could meet the needs of the people of the area.

Not all proposals have been successful because they were not based on the specific realities of life, experienced by the respective people in the area. Thus, the socio-political, military and economic problems of this region of the African sub-continent are in most cases exploited and used in international politics for propaganda purposes.

It is our duty and responsibility to state the facts as they are, to produce adequate solutions, so that our continent may know peace, liberty and progress.

The great contribution which the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, has rendered and continues to render in his endeavour to solve the current problems in Africa has not yet been transmitted or known in its true sense and value.

The President of UNITA has been putting forward courageous and realistic proposals capable of bringing about a solution to the various problems of Southern Africa.

It so happens that the political vision of the President of UNITA is so profound that it will take some time before other personalities on whom world responsibility lies will be able to grasp his philosophy.

Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI's intellectual base is solid enough and is backed up by long war experience.

He participated in the founding of the prestigious Pan-African Organization, the Organization of African Unity. He was able to postulate the basis of his reasoning on the evolution of African nationalism. It was also tabled in a constructive dialogue with the authorities of South Africa with the objective of giving the opportunity of real participation to all nations: Blacks, Whites, Coloured and Indians.

Many leaders and international observers did not understand the true dimension of the proposals envisaged by the Angolan Leader. Today facts exist which prove the justice and correctness of his political philosophy. The leaders of Southern Africa more and more believe that dialogue is the only solution to peace in Southern Africa, especially in the Republic of South Africa.

The Inkomati Agreement, between Mozambique and South Africa, the Lusaka Agreement, between the regime of Luanda and South Africa, the agreement between Swaziland and South Africa, the successive meetings between the Lesotho and South African authorities, the meetings between Botswana and South Africa and the meeting between President Kaunda and President Botha all demonstrate that the problems of Southern Africa can only be solved on the basis of dialogue.

For any profound and solid analysis of the problems of Southern Africa, the geographical realities of the area must be taken into consideration. The Republic of Congo Brazzaville shares a boundary with Northern Angola, more specifically the Cabinda Province. This republic maintains special relations with the Soviet Union. The Republic of Zaire shares a long frontier with Northern Angola. In the political system of the world, Zaire is part of the Western bloc. The Republic of Zambia is also considered as part of the Western bloc despite its oscillating politics. It borders on Angola in the East. In the South, Angola borders on Namibia, the territory administrated by the Republic of South Africa. Both the South African Republic and Namibia form part of the Western bloc.

Angola's neighbours are neither chosen by her nor by UNITA. These are natural and historical realities. Any solutions envisaged for Angola and Southern Africa should be based on these realities and not on utopian dreams.

On various occasions, many leaders of Western countries wanted to make believe or impress upon the African countries, that the solution to the problems of South Africa is economic sanctions. Today the same leaders advocate dialogue as a means for solving the socio-political problems of South Africa.

In 1975, when thousands of Cuban troops, faithful in serving Soviet imperialism, invaded Angola, various countries who naturally would have supported UNITA shied away and abandoned UNITA, thus facilitating the Soviet imperialist game. Nevertheless, the Angolans resisted and they continue to resist against Soviet imperialism for their physical and cultural survival.

Some African and Middle East countries have, to varying degrees, played an important part in UNITA's liberation struggle, which is judiciously led by Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI.

South Africa, having understood the implications of the presence of Soviet-Cuban imperialism in Angola, supported and continues to support UNITA. This fact should not have constituted a great surprise to the world, given the fact that history proves that in similar situations the stands taken were identical. Here are some examples:

— During the Second World War the Russians were helped by the West to organise their war industry and economy in order to resist the German troops better.

— Apart from contact, the Chinese revolutionaries had American aid during the period when China was occupied by the invading Japanese forces.

— During the war against the dictatorship regime of Batista the Cubans had contact and help from Americans.

— During the First and Second World War, the South African troops gave their lives in defence of France.

In the specific case of Angola, confronted as we are by the great danger of physical and cultural annihilation, UNITA accepts help from whatever source, as long as our fundamental interests are not questioned.

"The guns which liberate our country do not smell of the country of origin but they smell of gun powder".

— Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI —

Due to the resistance of the Angolan people against Soviet imperialism and the concomitant results, the President of UNITA has become an African political personality of indisputable stature and it was in this context that he was invited to the inauguration ceremony of the President of South Africa.

On the 14th of September 1984, all international news agencies made reference to this event as being of prime importance. Dr SAVIMBI was met at the airport by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the South African Government.

The objective, which was determined by the President of UNITA many years before, namely to make the Angolan

Digitized by Google

conflict a world issue in order to counter-balance Soviet power, was becoming a reality.

The reception was cordial, warm and dignified. The interests of the oppressed Angolan people were defended and the personality of the Angolans as a whole, was deservingly represented.

On his return to Angola the President of UNITA was enthusiastically received by the Angolan people. On that occasion he delivered a speech to the waiting crowd. This speech dwelt on the development and significance of this event.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA ON HIS RETURN FROM THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Countrymen,

We wish to thank you for being present at this late hour, because we have a message for you of the warm welcome accorded to us today in the south. We wish to transmit this message as we feel it. Our struggle is gradually but surely being transformed into a regional conflict, a conflict between superpowers in which UNITA is becoming, and decisively so, an important factor.

On my return, I was informed by members of the leadership that some radio broadcasts have already made reference to our tour to the South. At this stage, it may be of no interest to dwell in detail on the tour; I would merely like to draw some conclusions from it.

From the beginning, we have always analysed the Southern African situation taking into account the role of South Africa as a regional power.

South Africa today plays the role of a superpower in the subcontinent. With this as point of departure, problems such as the Cubans, the Soviets and other difficulties pertaining to the conflicts of Southern Africa could not be solved, without the participation of, or in partnership with South Africa. It being so, we consider our visit to have been once more a victory accruing from our political and diplomatic policy.

The Agreement of Inkomati, the tour of the present President of the Republic of South Africa to Europe, the discussions between South Africa and the MPLA in Lusaka, the establishment of a joint commission made up of South Africans and MPLA which is at the moment operating in Cunene, the confirmation of the American stand in relation to the Cuban withdrawal from Angola before taking any steps leading to the independence of Namibia, all these facts lead me to the conclusion that the present President of the Republic of South Africa could never have invited us officially to participate in the inauguration of his five-year mandate, had he not consulted other powers. Let us think of what is going on in the chancelleries of Western countries after our present visit to South Africa.

Let us examine, with the strategists, possible solutions on the part of the Soviets, Cubans and MPLA. We are of the opinion that either the Accords of Lusaka, were never concluded in an atmosphere of complete understanding between the parties concerned, or each of the parties interpreted the letter and spirit of this agreement in its own favour. All this was further complicated by a single factor, namely the absence of UNITA. Without the presence of UNITA, the Lusaka Agreement between the Americans, the South Africans and the MPLA could, at this moment and hour, only be interpreted in the chancelleries as I have said before — either misinterpreted in the interest of each party concerned or badly understood from the beginning — because had it not been so, our visit today would not have taken place.

On the part of the MPLA, all concessions possible were made to the rulers of South Africa, with only one aim: convince South Africa not to give assistance to UNITA. The MPLA went so far as fighting against its old allies. What could the MPLA be thinking of at this moment? Are they trying to mobilize FAPLA and then the Cubans and MPLA die-hards? Would South African assistance to UNITA shortly be cut after what has happened today?

While the Soviets are thinking of reinforcing the military strength of the MPLA, while the Cubans will encourage more offensives, I want to assure you here tonight, that there is panic in MPLA ranks. We know that the MPLA is panicking at this moment.

Let us recall the past. In 1979, before the death of Dr Agostinho NETO, when UNITA's delegation was in Rabat, a meeting between the South Africans, Portuguese and Americans, aimed at bringing about a final political understanding with the Luanda government, and the abandonment of UNITA was in progress in Cape Verde. We managed to perceive the South African government's difficulties in coming to terms with the regime of Agostinho Neto, but we did not panic. We continued with our task until February/March, when the Lusaka Agreement took effect. A constant feature of the leadership of UNITA is that when confronted with problems, no one gets panic-stricken, but problems are conscientiously and closely examined. UNITA never panics. UNITA must rapidly exploit the present situation in order to score points.

Our meeting today, in the Cape of Good Hope, represents a new factor in the political chess-game in Southern Africa, which must be rapidly exploited. Rapidly on the battlefield, rapidly with arms, rapidly in thinking, rapidly in diplomacy, rapidly in reaching all Angolans. We cannot permit many months to go by, without UNITA capitalising on the events of the 14th by scoring further victories. Should we wait for the world to react to our relationship with South Africa, we shall be on the defensive. Now, we should be on the offensive on the battlefield, in diplomacy and in our organization.

How does UNITA react? By not being euphoric. How does UNITA react? By exploiting all these points which are favourable.

Let us be honest and look at what is happening at this moment in South Africa. We do not want to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of South Africa, just as we would not want anybody to interfere in our internal policy. However, as I said yesterday, we do not want to exert pressures on one another, but we want dialogue on problems which affect us profoundly. We feel that it is through dialogue that we shall understand each other, so that once our country has been

Digitized by Google

liberated and the dignity of the Angolan people has been restored, we shall continue to have relations of friendship and co-operation with South Africa. For this reason, problems which divided us have to be discussed, and I immediately formulate my point of view:

Accompanied by a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, I departed as representative of UNITA, as representative of the Angolan people, as representative of our struggle, but I also departed in order to go and meet the man who accepts reforms. I departed to go and encourage a man who at this moment has the power to effect reforms, and I departed in order to show my solidarity with the black people here.

We have learnt within UNITA that for problems of a distinct quality, we have to find solutions of a distinct quality. South Africa presents a problem which is of a specific nature, and this must be taken into account. It is not through bombs, it is not through urban guerrilla warfare, it is not through violence that South Africa can change. This is not possible. It is a situation which is specific. It is necessary that the person who has power brings about reforms and President Botha has the will to effect reforms. He should be encouraged and supported to bring about reforms in South Africa, because if he does not effect reforms, nobody else can.

There are therefore two schools of thought: those who are for confrontation, who must weigh the consequences and draw up the necessary strategy in relation to this stand; and we, who have reached a conclusion that violence in South Africa does not yield results for anybody, who must also draw up our own strategy, and our strategy is as follows:

There must be serious sustained dialogue, honest dialogue aimed at honest objectives, honest to our peoples. Our appearance today in the streets of the Cape created reaction, not only on the part of Whites, Indians and Coloureds, but also Blacks.

In our present-day situation, it is necessary to convince the white man who has power, that the black man does not intend to topple him, but that we want dialogue and that we want to co-exist. However, those in charge must be men with the ability firstly to keep their word and secondly to act in accordance with the principles.

I have become more convinced than ever before that President Botha really wants to effect reforms in South Africa. I request UNITA's leadership that we seriously consider whether we can support President Botha, because he will achieve a solution which no one has, in hundreds of years. President Botha needs to be supported by responsible Blacks, Blacks who work and serve as proof to their countrymen, that not all Blacks wish the worst for the Whites of South Africa, and we can do it.

How does UNITA think? UNITA thinks along the following lines, and little by little, we have to live up to this philosophy daily and advance towards our goals. It is in Angola that we shall seize our independence from the Cubans, Soviets and MPLA and consequently restore truth in this country. While reconstructing our country in a responsible manner, we have to behave accordingly every day.

Externally, we have to consolidate dialogue with South Africa, encourage it to make reforms and allay fears that reforms could be suicidal, so that a country with the power, infra-structure and potential of South Africa does not only serve its own interest and that of its peoples better, but also ceases to terrify the weaker nations.

It is on fear that the present relationship of South Africa, and her neighbouring countries is based. We should sow the seeds of confidence and frank dialogue, because disagreement should not mean preparing for a war. On the contrary, we should promote further discussion which may also lead to further disagreement, but in the process of disagreeing we get to know each other and we learn how to conduct dialogue. Undoubtedly one of the parties, or a certain person, or a certain issue will at some stage reveal the truth which will convince both parties.

But first and foremost UNITA must think along the lines I am stating: UNITA must win, and must win in Angola, so that UNITA can render service to the Angolan people to whom we are dedicated.

What happens in Angola will have repercussions in the whole of Southern Africa; what happens in Southern Africa will have repercussions in Africa; what affects Africa will affect the inter-relationship of the countries outside Africa as well as in Africa; what will happen in Angola will affect the thinking of Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians who inhabit our continent.

It is also of interest to state with modesty, that the leaders and the cadres should recognize the path which we followed until attending, on the 14th, the inauguration of President Botha, of the sub-continent's powerful country. The path was long but we successfully followed it and reached this point. For this reason, we cannot allow anyone to create obstacles on the path which has been leading us to victory.

I would, above all, ask the leadership and the cadres to maintain unity of purpose and be dedicated to our country's cause which will permit us to serve not only Angola, but also other peoples, who expect words of encouragement from us.

UNITA, you may ask from me whatever you wish. You may ask the supreme sacrifice and as far as I am concerned, you can be assured that for the cause of Angola, I shall never hesitate to sacrifice anything.

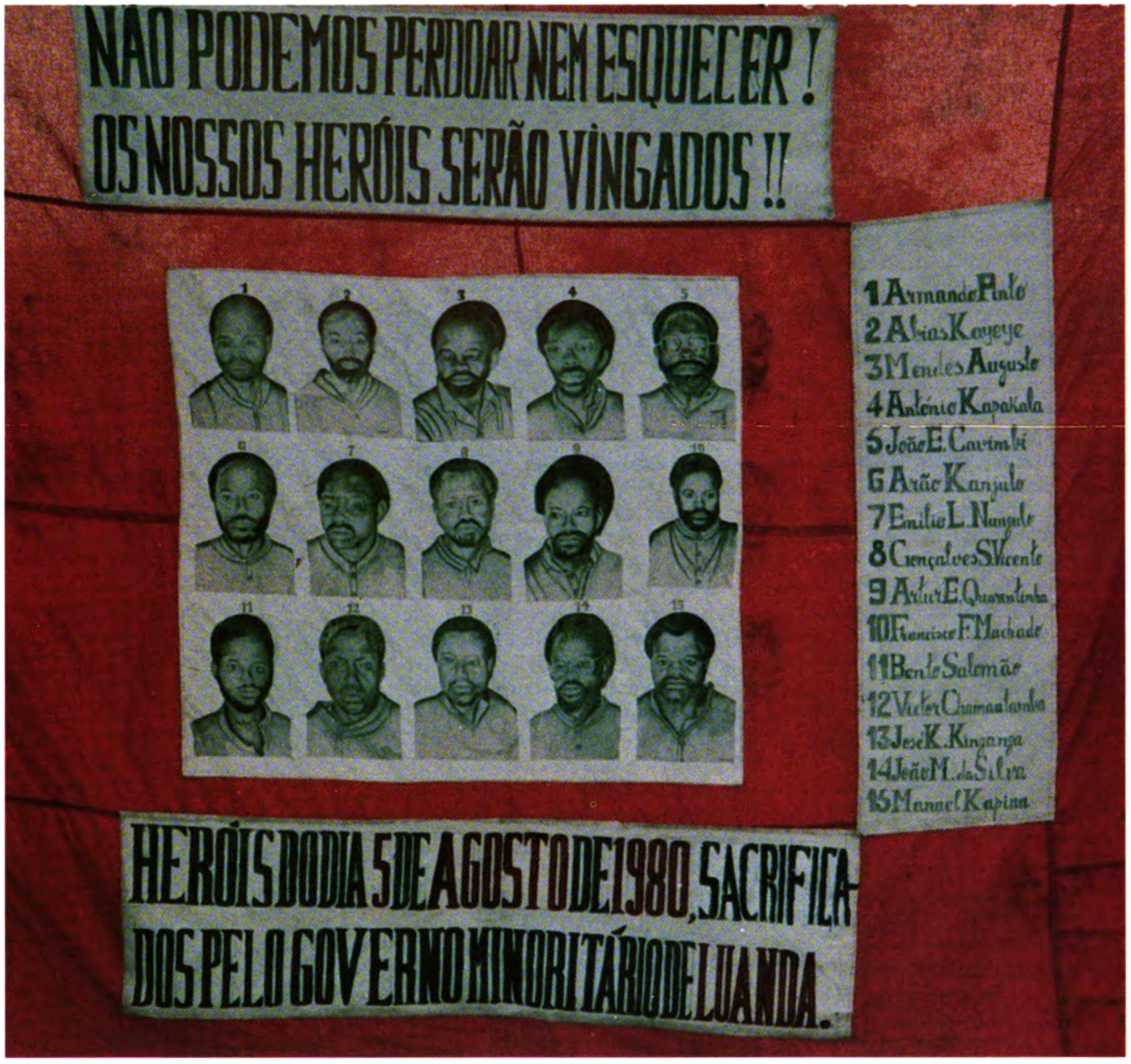
Tonight, I would also like to ask the women of my country to try and follow the footsteps of their men-folk, and understand the role they, as women, have to fulfil. I would like to request my country's women to come up as fighters, because, apart from Angola you can , if you wish, also serve other women of the continent who expect support from you. I would like to request the youth of my country to sacrifice a bit more. We understand your sacrifices up to now. The leadership of UNITA knows about it, knows of your pain and of your death. We all know, but there is no alternative, but to ask you to sacrifice a bit more because we are about to reach our destination. From my countrymen I would like to ask staunchness. No one should vegetate in the complex and vast struggle which is ours. There is always something to be done. No one should assume the role of passer-by, of observer. The men of our country, the men of my land should not adopt the attitude of observers in Jamba, Luanda, Uíge, Cabinda, Luau and Cuito Cuanavale. The men of my country should not behave as observers, but should participate directly because there is room for such participation.

The intellectuals of my country should know that opportunities exist to prove that the colour of our skin does not prohibit us from fulfilling in our country and the world, the role to which we are entitled as Angolans.

GOOD NIGHT ANGOLA!

From a speech given by the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI on 15 September 1984, after returning from his visit to Cape Town.

Digitized by Google



Angolan patriots, victims of the fury of Russian-Cuban imperialism in Angola, assassinated barbarously by the MPLA puppets in Luanda on 5 August 1980.

Digitized by Google

There is no weapon in the world capable of silencing forever the wish of a certain people.

Soviet bombs kill innocent men, women and children in Angola.

Digitized by Google

A woman, victim of a landmine made by the Soviets.

Digitized by Google

The Czechoslovakian Foreign Affairs Minister Stanislav SVOBODA in conversation with General SAVIMBI at the UNITA headquarters at Jamba, the provisional capital of Angola. In this way the window to the East . . .

General Alexander HAIG, former Secretary of State of the United States, being welcomed to Jamba by General SAVIMBI.

Digitized by Google

President SAVIMBI being interviewed by members of the international press during the ceremony marking the liberation of British citizens in May 1984.

Digitized by Google

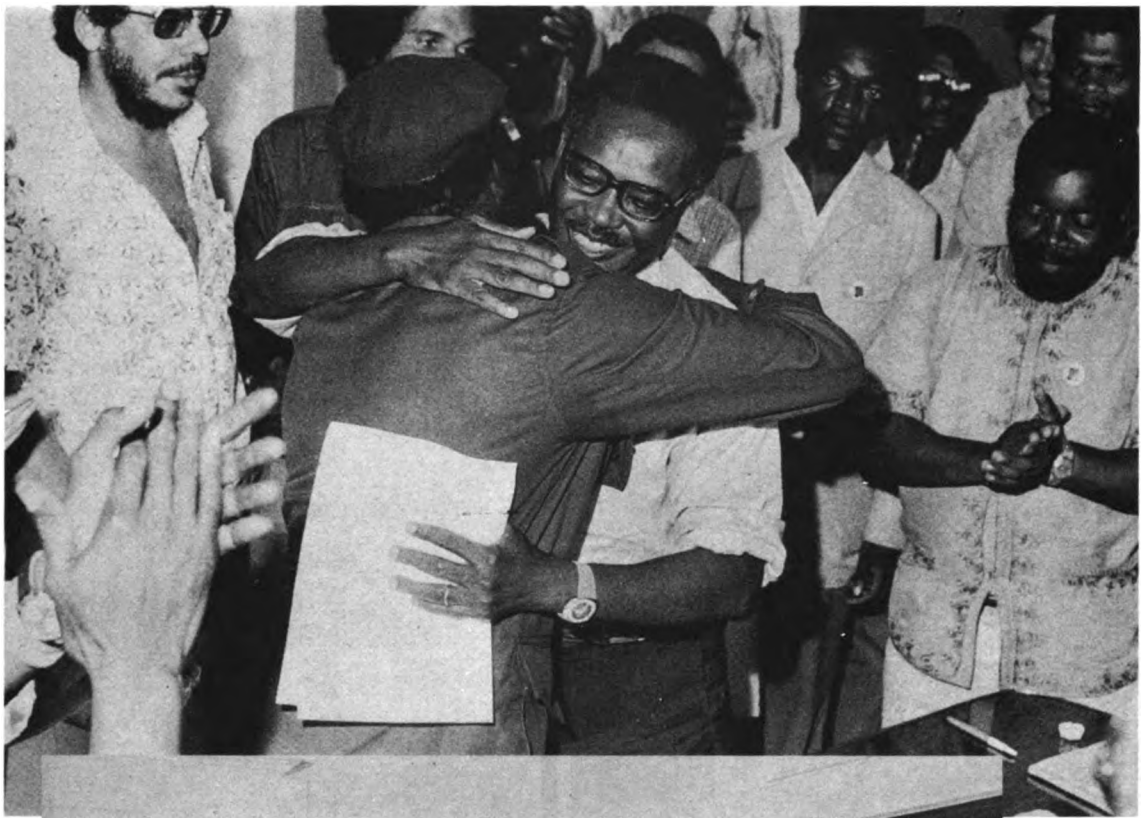
Digitized by Google

European MP's receive a warm and enthusiastic welcome at the rostrum at Jamba.

The signing of the joint communiqué by the Political Bureau of UNITA and the four deputies of the European Parliament. President SAVIMBI is in the centre, flanked by members of the European Parliament.

Digitized by Google

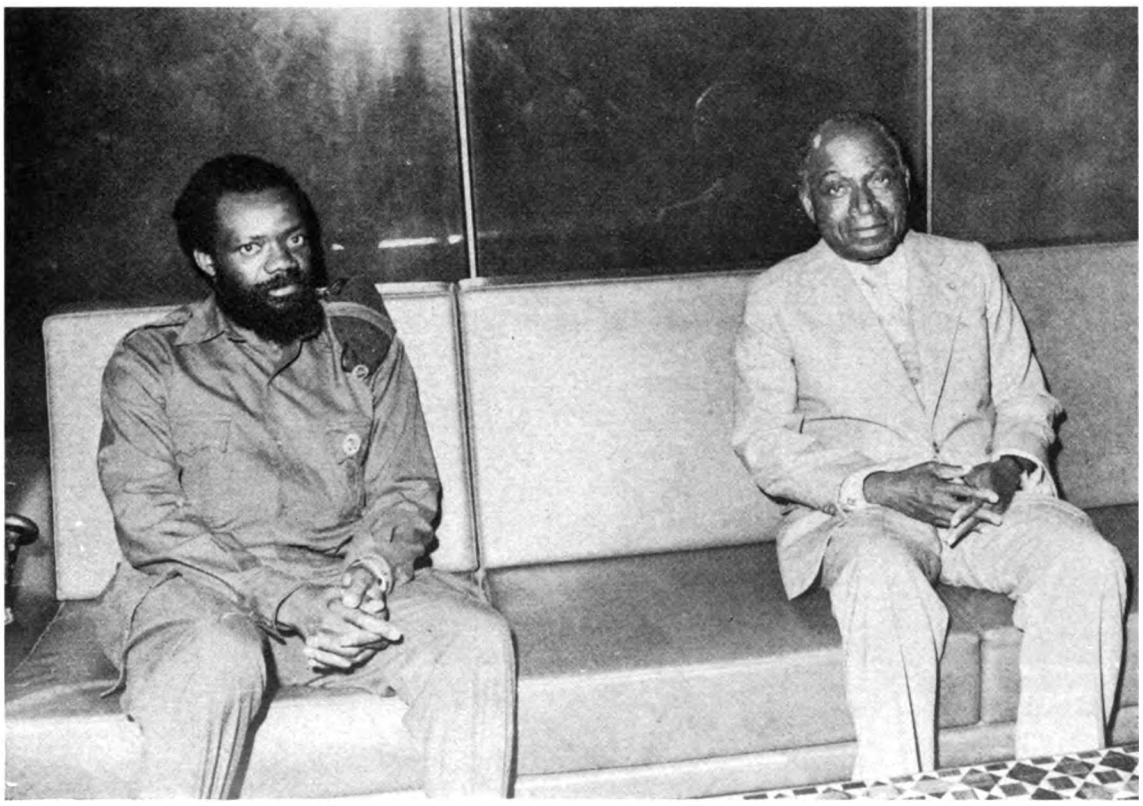
UNITA's objective is national reconciliation. President SAVIMBI with the MPLA President Agostinho Neto after the signing of the Luso Agreement.



A UNITA delegation headed by President SAVIMBI meets in Lusaka with a UNIP delegation headed by President Kenneth KAUNDA of the Republic of Zambia.

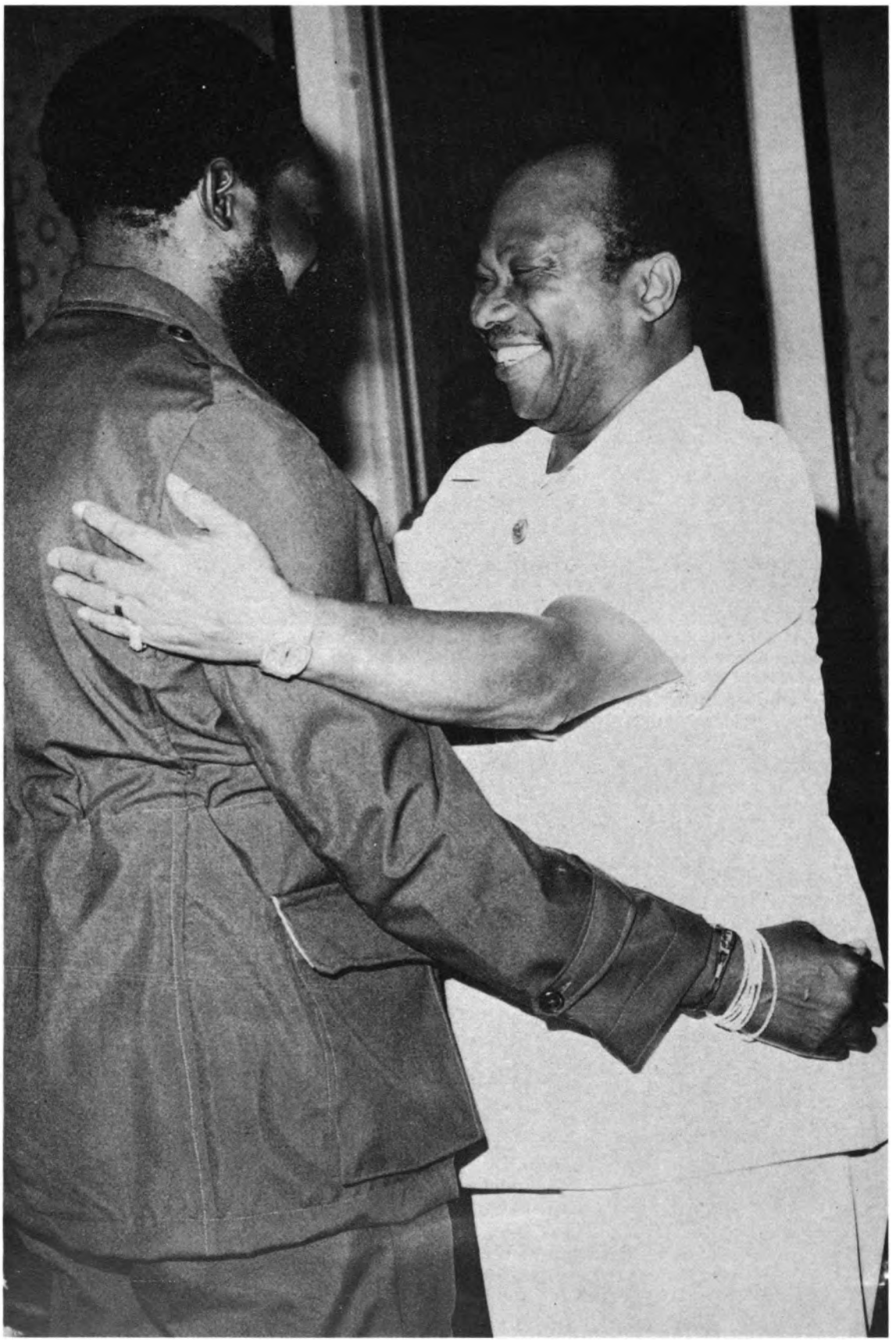
Digitized by Google

President SAVIMBI being welcomed in Kinshasa by the founding President of the MPR, Field Marshal Mobutu SESE-SEKO, President of the Republic of Zaire.



President SAVIMBI being welcomed to Abidjan by the President of the Ivory Coast, His Excellency Felix HOUPHOUET BOIGNY.

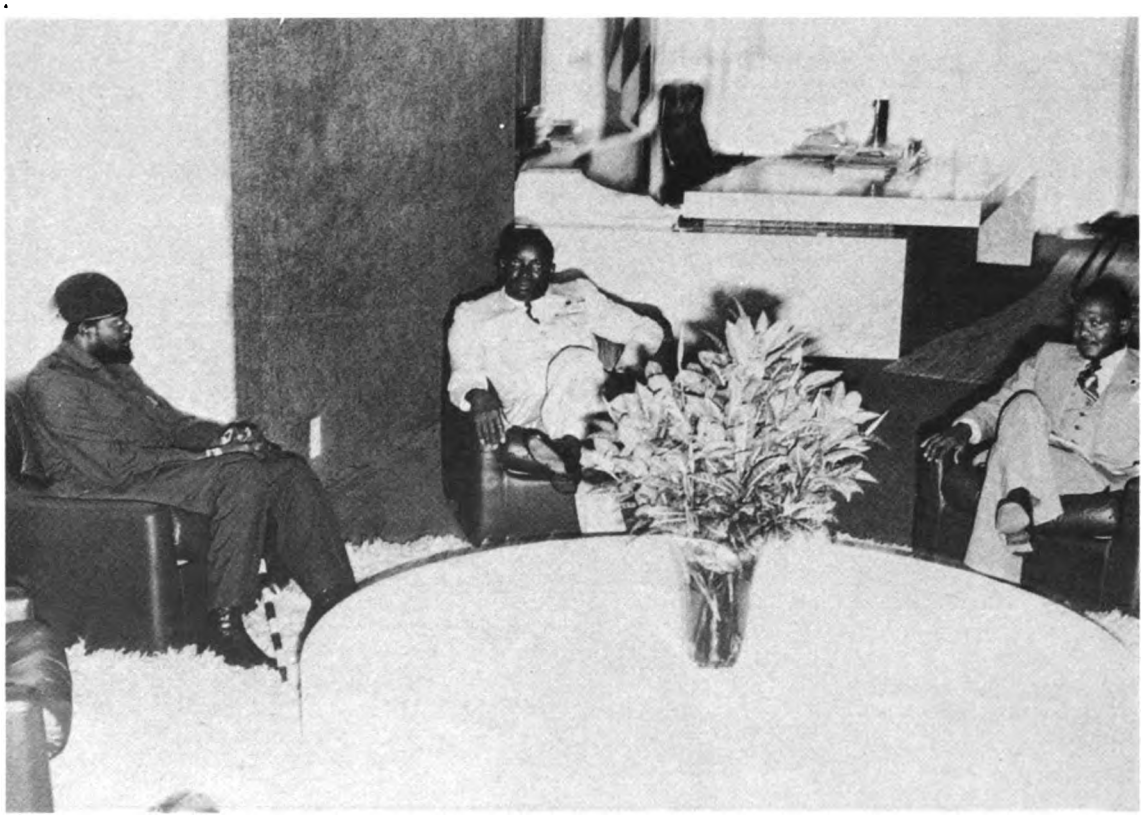
Digitized by Google



President SAVIMBI with the late President Tolbert of Liberia and OAU chairman in Monrovia.

Digitized by Google

President SAVIMBI with the late Kenyan President His Excellency Mzee Jomo KENYATTA, during the signing of the **Nakuru accord. Since the beginning, UNITA has always defended the unity of the liberation movements as the only reflection of national unity.**



President SAVIMBI being welcomed by General EYADEMA, President of the Republic of Togo, in Lomé.

Digitized by Google

MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1 PRESIDENT OF THE MOVEMENT AND HIGH COMMANDER OF FALA — Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI — General.
2 SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MOVEMENT — Miguel N'Zau PUNA — Brigadier
3 PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE —Pedro Ngueve Jonatao CHINGUNJI — Brigadier
4 SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE COORDINATION — Eng. Ernesto Joaquim MULATO — Colonel
5 SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS — Eng. Jeremias Kalandula CHITUNDA.
6 GENERAL CHIEF OF STAFF OF FALA — Alberto Joaquim VINAMA "CHENDOVAVA" — Brigadier
7 CHIEF OF OPERATIONS — COPE — Demóstenes Amós CHILINGUTILA — Brigadier
8 FRONT COMMANDER — Geraldo Sachipengo NUNDA — Brigadier
9 CHIEF OF LOGISTICAL SUPPLIES — Altino Bango SAPALALO "BOCK"— Brigadier
10 SECRETARY OF MILITARY MOBILIZATION — António DEMBO — Colonel
11 DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS — Carlos KANDANDA— Colonel
12 CHIEF OF PERSONNEL — Samuel Martinho EPALANGA — Brigadier

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS

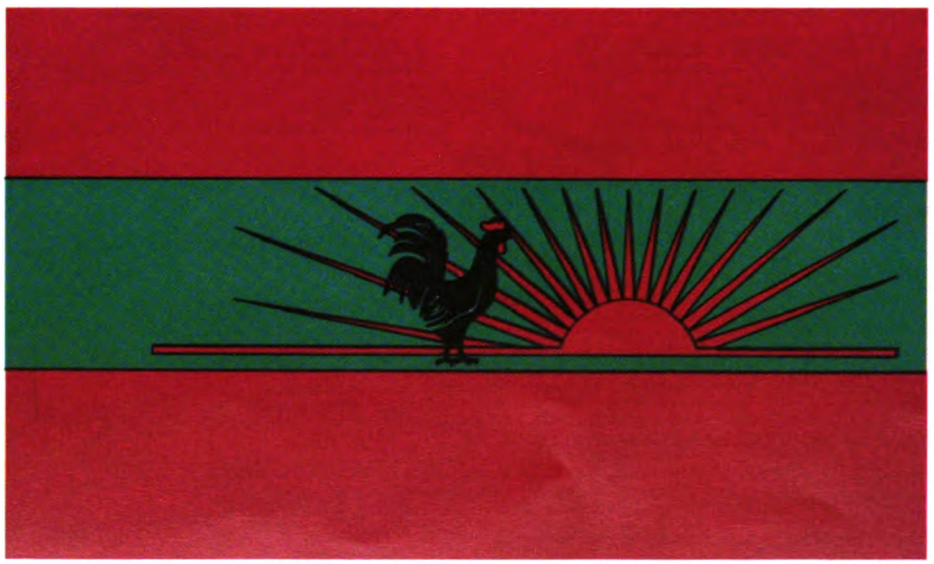
1 REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE — Armindo Lucas GATO — Colonel
2 Mártires Correa VICTOR — Major
3 SECRETARY FOR INFORMATION — Dr Fernando Wilson dos SANTOS.
4 Isaías SAMAKUVA — Colonel
5 Alberto Mário Vasco Miguel "KANHALI VATUVA" — Colonel

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1 PRESIDENT OF THE MOVEMENT AND HIGH COMMANDER OF FALA — Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI — General.
2 SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MOVEMENT — Miguel N'Zau PUNA — Brigadier
3 PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE — Pedro Ngueve Jonatao CHINGUNJI — Brigadier
4 SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION — Eng. Ernesto Joaquim MULATO — Colonel
5 SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS — Eng. Jeremias Kalandula CHITUNDA.
6 GENERAL CHIEF OF STAFF OF FALA — Alberto Joaquim VINAMA "CHENDOVAVA" — Brigadier
7 CHIEF OF OPERATIONS — COPE — Demóstenes Amós CHILINGUTILA — Brigadier
8 FRONT COMMANDER — Geraldo Sachipengo NUNDA — Brigadier
9 CHIEF OF LOGISTICAL SUPPLIES — Altino Bango SAPALALO "BOCK" — Brigadier
10 SECRETARY OF MILITARY MOBILIZATION — António DEMBO — Colonel
11 DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS — Carlos KANDANDA — Colonel
12 CHIEF OF PERSONNEL — Samuel Martinho EPALANGA — Brigadier
13 REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE — Armindo Lucas GATO — Colonel
14 Mártires Correa VICTOR — Major
15 SECRETARY FOR INFORMATION — Dr Fernando Wilson dos SANTOS.
16 Isaías SAMAKUVA — Colonel
17 Alberto Mário Vasco Miguel "KANHALI VATUVA" — Colonel
18 GENERAL INSPECTOR OF FALA — Renato Campos MATEUS —Brigadier
19 SECRETARY FOR MOBILIZATION — Smart CHATA — Colonel
20 SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION — Eugénio NGOLO — Colonel "MANUVAKOLA".
21 Vicente VIHEMBA — Colonel
22 DIRECTOR FOR THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL CADRES — Dr Anastácio SICATO — Lt. Colonel
23 Andrade Chassungo SANTOS —Colonel
24 SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR YOUTH — JURA — Aurélio Joao "KALHAS" — Lt. Colonel
25 FRONT CHIEF OF STAFF —Aurélio Alves CHIPAKO "VIDA DE DEUS" — Colonel
26 SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE — Dr Henrique Afonso RAIMUNDO — Major
27 PRESIDENT OF LIMA — Alda Juliana SACHIAMBO.
28 Lourenço MAKANGA — Captain
29 Dr Paulo CHIPILIKA.
30 Dr José Luís CHAMPALIMAUD.
31 Dr Miranda DIAS.
32 Ilda NASSUANJI.
33 SECRETARY FOR MOBILIZATION OF LIMA —Isabel CHIPEPI.
34 Luís FONTOURA.
35 César KALIENGUE.
36 FRONT CHIEF OF STAFF —Arlindo PENA "BEN-BEN" —Brigadier
37 Lucas Moisés KANJIMI — Colonel
38 Daniel MULIATA — Captain
39 FRONT CHIEF OF STAFF —Augusto Domingos Lutock LIAHUKA — Colonel
40 REPRESENTATIVE IN AFRICA — Honório VAN-DÚNEN DE ANDRADE.

Digitized by Google

41 VITUZI — Lieutenant-Colonel
42 Jorge MUACHILUNDA — Colonel
43 Zola Luzolo DANIEL — Major
44 Isalina KAWINA.
45 Joao VAHEKENI.
46 Antonino FILIPE — Colonel
47 Miraldina JAKA JAMBA.
48 SECRETARY FOR CADRES —Armindo Moisés KASSESSA —Lieutenant-Colonel
49 Dr Jorge Alicerces VALENTIM.
50 SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE — Dr JAKA JAMBA — Major



Digitized by Google

THE DRUM OF AFRICA

I

The ancient drum of olden time
The tam-tam of our ancestors
Forever resounded on the plains
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

II

When the drum announces a new birth in the forest
The elders gather at the sound of the news
Their beaming faces reflecting their joy
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

III

All through the ages the drum resounded
It sounded the joy, it sounded the sorrow
It sounded the cycle of birth and death
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

IV

The outsider only heard the rhythm
Only saw the hide and the wood
Never understood the mysterious message
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

V

The ancient drum of our ancestors
The messenger of dark mysteries
Still resounds on the plains of the land
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

VI

The child grows up, a man among men
At the initiation the drum is always present
The old harbinger of life and death
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

VII

When the man takes a bride
The tam-tam gathers family and friend
To share in the joy of their next of kin
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

VIII

The man grows old, the man grows weak
Soothed and comforted
By the ever present drum
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

IX

And in time when the life is spent
It is the drum that bids him farewell
In a sad slow message of sorrow
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

X

The old drum of our ancient culture
Witnessed the coming of our oppressors
A tam tam of revolt replaced the joy
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

XI

When the flame of the Black Cock was hoisted
In Lobito, Bie, Huambo and Luanda
The joy of the drum rang out loud
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

XII

The old drum of our forefathers
Yesterday exposed the Portuguese despots
Today forewarns of the Cuban oppressors
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

XIII

The Kalashnikov today echoes the drum
The sounds of the drum and the gun intermingle
Beating the rhythm of a new-born nation
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

XIV

The tam-tam at present heralds the new age
Bringing a message of hope and renewed joy
Announcing the day that the land will be free
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

Digitized by Google

XV

The ancient drum of olden time
The tam-tam of our ancestors
Forever will resound on our plains
Tam – tam – ta – ta – tam – tam

Dr. JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI

Digitized by Google

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

NATIONAL INFORMATION

THE CONSTITUTION OF UNITA

I

THE POLICY OF UNITA

The national union for the total independence of Angola (UNITA) was formed on the 13th of March 1966, during the First Congress, held in Muangai in the province of Moxico (Angola). This was due to those elements of Angolan Society that were politically the most enlightened and had as an objective, the creation of a liberation movement which would give new impetus to the Angolan people's anti-colonial war which, as a matter of necessity, was to be waged within the country and not from foreign bases as was the case with the existing liberation movements. On the other hand, it became a necessity to muster all the patriotic forces alienated by hegemonism, tribalism and other anti-patriotic activities of the liberation movements existing at the time.

The Second Congress of UNITA was held in Sachimbanda in the province of Moxico during the month of September 1969. This congress defined UNITA's internal and external policy and established the organizational structures of the Movement and the Armed Forces.

During the Third Congress, held on the banks of the Kutaho River in the province of Moxico in August 1973, once having analysed the internal and external evolution of the war, and having re-examined the character and objectives of our organization, UNITA identified itself as the movement of the oppressed masses and decided that Congress will convene every four years.

The Fourth Congress of UNITA was held in the province of Huambo (Angola), in March 1977, and introduced various amendments to the Constitution in order to adapt it to the evolution of the Movement and the national resistance war.

The Twelfth Annual Conference was held in May 1979, in the province of Cuando Cubango (Angola), and taking into consideration that which is stipulated in (b), first paragraph, third article of the Constitution, decided to update the policy of the Movement with amendments to the Constitution.

The Fifth Congress was held in Mavinga, province of Cuando Cubango, in July 1982. It reviewed and made amendments to the Constitution in accordance with the circumstances of the time.

During the Extraordinary Congress held in Jamba, province of Cuando Cubango, in November 1984, the present Constitution was established.

II

UNITA is aware that there is no political model in the world suitable for utilization in Angola. Angola is a unique territory with its own specific conditions, be they from the ecological or the human point of view. This is the reason why the Angolan people have the right to determine the future of this country in such a way that their historical past is reconciled with their present aspirations.

Consequently, UNITA categorically rejects any social political order imposed upon Angola from outside. It is within this framework that we should place our war against Russian social-imperialism and Cuban neo-colonialism, whose unique objective, is to impose a totalitarian system upon our country and implant a false socialism like the one in the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Our programme can be summarized in four words which are at the same time the motto of our Movement:

SOCIALISM
NEGRITUDE
DEMOCRACY
NON-ALIGNMENT

SOCIALISM

It is our desire to establish a system of economic production which is co-ordinated and made up of private Angolan and foreign enterprise with the participation of the State whereupon the proceeds thereof, would be justly shared in such a manner so as to enable each citizen to have a life of decency and dignity; to embark on a plan for the development and exploitation of the natural resources of the country and the rapid modernization of agriculture which is the main economic base of the country. In this regard, land as a factor of production, will have to serve as a cornerstone in the economic development. This being so, the State and private investors will have to benefit from land-ownership schemes according to interests, objectives and national priorities.

We are for a national education system which recognizes the right for all to study gratis up to professional levels on one condition; the will of individuals will be in harmony with national requirements in order to avoid uneconomic investment in human resources or prolonged dependence on foreign technical aid. UNITA accepts the establishment of missionary and secular schools so long as they conform to the norms established by a government elected by the people.

In the field of health, every Angolan citizen shall have the right to medical assistance and the fees payable shall have to be in accordance with the ability of the client. The Government shall establish a free social assistance scheme to aid those sections of the population that are in a disadvantageous situation. UNITA accepts private medical practices so long as there be conformity to the general health statutory regulations established by a government elected by the people.

NEGRITUDE

The African cultural identity of the Angolan population plays a key role in our concept of national unity. To the geographical limits and the colonial experience which characterize our country should be added: language, traditions, culture and common aspirations in order to create a united Angolan nation, harmonious and strong.

In the same way as the economy of a country, its culture must submit itself to political interpretation, in a manner that would dignify the people and would evolve in accordance with the objectives of the people in their search for progress.

Digitized by Google

It is not a question of arbitrary preservation of African cultural values, but what is necessary is that our culture must shine in a symbiosis with the other cultural influences, which have marked the Angolan civilization (Portuguese, Christian).

On the other hand the objective appreciation of the importance of African cultural identity in Angola places our national liberation struggle within the context of the war waged by the oppressed and exploited peoples against the oppressor who exercises economic exploitation concurrently with mental and cultural alienation.

A people who feels culturally subjugated, such as the Angolan, can plainly never benefit from the privileges conferred upon them by their political independence, so long as they are subjected to continued foreign domination. Consequently, without identity, cultural pride and proper civilization, such a nation runs the risk of disappearing as a result of agglutination with other civilizations.

DEMOCRACY

For UNITA, democracy means that the people must participate in the running of all the national affairs. The practice of political power by the people is only possible with full representation of all political currents and opinions in the government. This being so, democracy in Angola can be achieved through the formation of a transitional government of national unity. UNITA tirelessly fights for the holding of free general elections in order to implant in Angola, a representative government, capable of planning, identifying and defining the needs, exercise authority, assign responsibilities and demand sacrifices. UNITA accepts the multi-party system as a fundamental element in exercising democratic principles. The imposition on African countries of a one-party system is a model copied from the "people's democracies" which has nothing in common with African traditions.

NON-ALIGNMENT

To UNITA, non-alignment is a fundamental principle, in so far as foreign policy is concerned. Angola has experienced and continues to bear foreign occupation and interference. It is inconceivable that meaningful peace and independence would ever exist while the superpower conflict continues to rage within the borders of this country.

It is true that Angola needs foreign aid in order to rebuild her economy which is in ruins. It is in this light that without exception we accept co-operation with other countries so long as such co-operation is based on reciprocal interests, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. It is the achievement and maintenance of national independence which can enable the Angolan people to define their supreme interests and decide on their common destiny both as a nation and a sovereign state.

> We know that the struggle will be long and sinuous,
> We know that many difficulties lie ahead of us,
> Each victory is followed by a defeat,
> Each defeat is followed by a victory until final victory.

CHAPTER I

CONSTITUTION

Article 1

The Constitution of UNITA is its fundamental document. It includes the programme, the organizational framework of the Party, the methods and norms which regulate Party activity, as established by Congress.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITION

Article 2

UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, is a movement of the Angolan people engaged in a war of liberation and national unity for the subsequent formation of an elected majority government.

CHAPTER III

PRINCIPLES

Article 3

Self-reliance. The application of this principle does not exclude the necessity to explore and establish bonds of solidarity with other countries and peoples striving for democracy. Foreign assistance should be a consequence, not the cause of our struggle.

Article 4

Unite the masses of peasants in the struggle for national resistance.

Article 5

Maintain the leadership of the movement in the interior of the country.

Article 6

Maintain, as leaders of the movement a nucleus of stable, enlightened people, people with years of experience in war, people who know how to apply the combination of UNITA's experience and universally accepted war principles that have bearing on the actual conditions in Angola.

Article 7

Oppose all tendencies to compromise and all attitudes of surrender within the Movement and the army.

Article 8

Maintain the Movement according to its progressive principles in such a manner that it continues to represent and defend the interests of the exploited Angolan majority.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMME

SECTION I — THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

Article 9

Consolidate the organization of the Movement in the liberated areas, as well as those controlled by the enemy.

Article 10

Motivate the whole Angolan people to support UNITA in this war against the occupation of our country by the social imperialists and their internal agents, each Angolan contributing to his/her ability, thus manifesting his/her patriotism.

Article 11

Instil into the whole nation the need for a general resistance; educate and prepare the people to accept the conditions of the protracted war.

Article 12

Improve our military and administrative organizations in order to allow for reasonable, systematic and economic utilization of the present human and material resources of the country to the benefit of the war.

Article 13

Prepare cadres in order to cope with the needs of the war and the country.

Article 14

Develop the Movement's mass organizations in order to cope with the need to mobilize and control the masses in their national resistance tasks.

Digitized by Google

Article 15
Encourage and guarantee the participation of women in the tasks of national resistance.
Article 16
Resist hegemonism, tribalism, regionalism, elitism, anti-intellectual tendencies, anti-theorists and all other forms of division, thus avoiding mistakes which have always retarded the achievement of the goals of Angolan nationalism. We have to learn from past mistakes in order to score greater victories.
Article 17
Create a strong army commanded by the most capable sons of the Angolan people charged with the responsibility of intransigently defending the interests of the people.
Article 18
Generalize and intensify the armed struggle in the whole national territory thus, accelerating the process which leads to the seizure of power by the majority of the Angolan people.
Article 19
Organize and arm the militia in order to guarantee security of the popular masses and defend their material interests.
Article 20
Paralyse the puppet MPLA minority government's economic means.
Article 21
Consolidate the administrative organizations in liberated areas.
Article 22
Develop production in liberated areas, principally in the fields of agriculture, fishing, cattle husbandry and small industry.
Article 23
Develop public health in liberated areas and establish health services.
Article 24
Strive against illiteracy and obscurantism.
Article 25
In our liberated areas, develop our system of education.
Article 26
Investigate, establish and protect the Angolan cultural heritage in order to inspire and guarantee its continuation by future generations.
Article 27
Denounce and strive against all pseudo-African values introduced into the Angolan culture by the agents of foreign domination.
Article 28
Protect and assist the victims of war. As a matter of extreme priority, special services to aid and care for the victims of war should be established in all the organs of the movement and at all its levels and be responsible for their social re-integration.
Article 29
Guarantee freedom of worship and protect ecclesiastical institutions. Encourage foreign missionaries to remain in liberated areas of UNITA until peace has been established in the whole country.
Article 30
Call on the attention of the international community to the flagrant violation of human rights in Angola, resulting from the occupation of this country by social-imperialism and its satellite states.
Article 31
Warn all the countries who maintain contingents of military personnel in Angola on the pay-roll of the USSR, that they shall end up being defeated here, because the resistance war waged by Angolans is an irreversible historic process.
Article 32
Establish in Angola a sovereign and laic state and a democratic government of national unity elected by the people.
Article 33
Liberate all political prisoners detained by the minority puppet regime of Luanda and return to their lands of origin, all the people displaced and dispossessed of their land as a result of war, refugees included.

SECTION II — MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM PROGRAMME
SUB-SECTION I

INTERNAL POLICY
Article 34
Defend and guarantee the territorial integrity of Angola by all means at the disposal of UNITA, including the Armed Forces should they be called for.
Article 35
Build a national army conscious of its duty to defend the territorial integrity of the Fatherland, with the veterans of the war of liberation constituting its core.
Article 36
Find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cabinda.
Article 37
Organize free general elections in accordance with universal principles with the view to electing members of the Constituent Assembly charged with the responsibility of drafting the constitution of the country. Angola cannot govern itself through provisional, partisan documents.

1 Every citizen acquires the right to vote at the age of 18.
2 The Constituent Assembly shall draft the Constitution which will define and guarantee the fundamental rights of all citizens.
3 Before adoption, the draft Constitution shall be submitted to a national plebiscite.
4 The National Assembly shall be elected by direct secret ballot.
5 The deputies or the members of the National Assembly shall have the right to parliamentary immunity.

Article 38
Consider as an Angolan, any individual, who by origin, birth or naturalization, decides to make Angola his Fatherland and contributes to the economic progress, peace and social harmony of the Angolan nation. An Angolan regime not elected by the people cannot confer Angolan citizenship on anybody.
Article 39
Print the national currency.
Article 40
Develop the economic potentialities of the country.
Article 41
Undertake the reversion of land confiscated and acquired through colonial and neo-colonial laws, to the peasants.
Article 42
Establish a planned economy for the development and systematic utilization of all human and material potentialities of our country in order to create conditions of prosperity, happiness and dignity for all Angolans. The Angolan and foreign private enterprise must respect the superior economic interests of the Angolan nation.
Article 43
Guarantee foreign investments and private enterprise without prejudice to the planned economy of the country.
Article 44
Encourage and guarantee the participation of the people in the management of State business.
Article 45
Abolish all privileges offered arbitrarily by the oppressive illegitimate regimes of the past.

Digitized by Google

Article 46
Suppress all forms of forced labour and human exploitation.
Article 47
Guarantee social assistance and free medical services to all citizens in a disadvantaged economic situation.
Article 48
Establish a system of education with a stipulation that the first four years of schooling be compulsory for every citizen.
Article 49
Protect the family and the child.
Article 50
Found the league of war veterans.
Article 51
Establish institutions to assist the victims of war and take in charge their social re-integration.
Article 52
Respect and guarantee the free practice of religion.
Special Paragraph — Recognizing the moral contribution of the Church and the uplifting of man in the Angolan Society during the war of liberation, UNITA will co-operate with the Church in the following spheres: social, cultural, humanitarian, etc, without prejudice to the authority of the State. We uphold the principle of the distinction between Church and State.

UNITA's ECONOMIC PROGRAMME
Article 53
The economic development strategy will be based on the following fundamental principles and basic objectives:

- We must aim toward national self-sufficiency especially with regards to agricultural products. Agriculture keeps the wheels of the economy turning. A healthy agriculture will automatically provide employment in the storage, transportation, processing, retailing and supermarket sectors. We must also recognize the intimate interrelationship between overall growth objectives, the pace of industrialization, export objectives, and the required increase in agricultural production, increasing needs for raw materials for industry, etc.
- We need to raise the standard of living and the conditions of life for the whole country, with special emphasis on the rural population. This implies a rapid increase in consumption; the reduction of poverty and undernourishment; the transition from subsistence to market economy; the strengthening of agriculture; the eradication of illiteracy; industrialization and an accelerated increase in production; foreign investment incentives and stimulation of domenstic investment; the development and diversification of exports; manpower training; the establishment of friendship and co-operation with other countries; and the establishment of bases for future growth.
- We must make a special and urgent effort toward rural development as the key to any real transformation of the conditions of living for the majority of the Angolan population. This entails a bigger effort in road building in order to enable domestic commerce. We need, above all, to define the socio-economic and cultural centres that may, in turn, enable us to develop the domestic commerce sector that would satisfy the needs of the people without recourse to forced and generalized resettlement schemes. The creation of commercial centres by government initiative must not preclude parallel effort by private initiative. Private spontaneity would in fact reinforce State action.
- We need to pursue policies to achieve national unity. This dictates the need for a three-dimensional integration: the national leadership with the local (traditional) leaders; the community with its neighbouring communities or the province with its neighbouring provinces; and national cultural-historical links between the past, the present and the future. It requires the adoption of Portuguese as the official unifying language in education and business (notwithstanding the preservation, usage and cultivation of our national African languages) and removal of all restrictions on the mobility of the people. It also requires the establishment of national and regionally-balanced economic development projects so that no region will be left behind.
- We must examine without delay and in detail all existing socio-economic structures and their past evolution, in order to correctly define — and to introduce suitable changes in — the systems of ownership, mental attitudes, the nature of foreign co-operation, production and productivity criteria, and fairness in the distribution of income.
- We need economic development planning in order to undertake a deliberate, rational, continuous effort aimed at both orienting and accelerating the development process by means of a selection of objectives and the appropriate allocation of resources for achieving these objectives.
- The elaboration of economic development plans will be based on sound planning techniques and methods: a thorough structural and demographic analysis of the economy; the definition of the general as well as the specific goals to be achieved; the identification of national, regional and individual goals as well as global and sectoral objectives; the definition of public expenditure programmes; the definition and establishment of policies for the private sector; the establishment of policies for the development of human resources; the establishment of policies and programmes for the public sectors, health and education; and the establishment of a method for constant assessment of the viability of the plan or its components. Structural and demographic analysis will be the point of departure for the plan to assess the availability and utilization of resources as well as the population density, movements and geographical distribution. This urgently requires the establishment of a national statistical evaluation system for collecting and processing statistical data on the population (growth rate, urbanization, age composition, active percentage of the population and its economic sectors, fertility, mortality, migrations, geographic distribution); on agriculture (production, exports, cultivated land, total arable land); on fishing, game, extractive and processing industries; on energy supply, retail and gross sales, external trade, currency and credit, public finances, prices, government revenues and expenditures, construction, transportation, movement in ports and airports, etc. We recognize that assembling such statistical information may not be possible until the economic system becomes more stable. But initially we will work with estimates and reasonable approximations. The whole national statistical evaluation system will be perfected in stages.

Digitized by Google

- Public expenditures are an integral part of the economic development plan; their estimate are directly related to the improvement of budgeting techniques. For planning purposes and in the overall process of economic growth, private expenditures and public expenditures must be treated with equal attention. Public investment financing must always be viewed alongside private investment. The private sector should have ready access to public funds and vice-versa (i.e. private savings at the disposal of the government) for investment, in accordance with nationally recognized priorities.
- In addition to its economic profitability, each project within the economic plan should be evaluated on the basis of its possible impact on the utilization of unemployed or underemployed resources, the elimination of bottlenecks or weak links in the economy, the relations of complementarity, the diversification of the economy and technical manpower training.
- Socio-economic development planning should constantly establish a balance between national material, technical, human and financial resources. In order to identify disproportions, bottlenecks and unrealistic goals, and to find corrective measures, we will need to prepare individual periodic balance sheets, from which may be derived a general economic balance sheet as well as an analysis of the macro-economic and inter-sector relationships.
- In economic planning we should always compare the estimated cost of a project with the expected gains and try to assess alternate solutions.
- Socio-economic development planning must also spell out the sources and the amounts of funds for financing the plan. These will largely be local and national resources in the form of budget surplus and transfers from government agencies, domestic savings and foreign credits or donations. The fiscal soundness of the plan is of extreme importance, bearing in mind that public expenditures must not exceed the ordinary state revenue.
- Of the two categories of policies — the ones that can act directly in quantitative terms (rationing, licensing, prohibitions, contingencies, etc), and those other that operate indirectly through the forces of the market (taxes, interest rates, exchange rates, salaries, subsidies, etc.) — it is the second that should be given special importance. Without over-taxing the government bureaucracy, fomenting a black market or stimulating corruption, the second category offers more psychological advantages and tends to be more efficient.
- Economic planning does not imply arbitrary price fixing and interference in market mechanisms. Commodities, goods and services should rather be valued by the market than by artificial or political factors.
- We must endeavour to promote economic freedom within the context of our development of democratic institutions as the ultimate way to stimulate the creativity, the productivity and the organizational ability of the individual, for economics rests largely on psychology and human behaviour, incentives and motivations. The individual's free choice based on rational self-interest, when properly cultivated, may lead to the best assessment of human needs and the most effective development of human energies to meet those needs. This economic freedom must therefore be preceded by solid education and discipline in action, so that self-interested choices will be made in such a way as to take into consideration the interdependence between the good of the individual or group and society as a whole.
- Peace, human freedom and independence are essential preliminary conditions for the effective implementation of national reconstruction programmes, entailing, of necessity, an active participation of the population in their quest for individual prosperity. Socio-economic development must be conceived on the basis of a politically free, democratic society, where totalitarianism or dictatorship in any form whatsoever would not be tolerated; in a society where laws are fair, enforceable and respectable, the universally regonized basic human rights are upheld, and everyone is free to pursue happiness and prosperity. It would be necessary to conceive of a judiciary system based on the constitutional and institutional framework of the fundamental principles of the rights, responsibilities, privileges, duties and equality of all citizens before the law.
- Penal institutions should concentrate on correction, rehabilitation and re-integration of the individual into society, rather than sheer punishment or revenge. There would be no taking of the law into private hands and police brutality must be totally eliminated from Angolan society. All public law and order enforcing officers (police) must know their duty to protect and respect the population in a dignified, humane manner. Crime detection and the reforming of the criminal, must be carried out according to scientifically tested and socially accepted procedures which must preclude the unusually cruel, inhuman methods, reminiscent of colonial oppression. Regardless of the nature of a crime, the Angolan society must not resort to banishment of its citizens into exile against their own will.
- Party and government officials must set the example at all times, by obeying the laws and regulations and complying with the official policy. Standards of behaviour for public servants must be high. The State will have no moral force to encourage national reconstruction, if the leaders unscrupulously hoard wealth for their personal bank accounts abroad, instead of enjoying their own country and investing at home. National self-confidence and hope in the future will be undermined if leaders are so eager to squander the meagre foreign currency reserves, by buying personal property or investing in foreign countries. If public servants seek comfort and prosperity abroad, one is entitled to question their sincerity when it comes to promoting national prosperity.
- Policies and programmes must be established to encourage the return to the Fatherland of the hundrends of thousands of Angolans who were forced to leave the country at one time or another. Conditions must be created to facilitate their re-integration in society and their contribution to our national reconstruction. Many of them are highly skilled professionals, businessmen, bankers, farmers, etc, especially the people of Portuguese origin, whose contribution will be vital to the country they love and of which they choose to be citizens — Angola.
- And finally, we must bear in mind the

Digitized by Google

fact that the success of socio-economic reconstruction programmes will inevitably be slow. Notwithstanding all social pressures to solve urgent problems, the real progess may be appreciable only at the end of a long period of steady and conscious struggle. It would be unrealistic for us to expect full prosperity within less than 15 years. But it is fundamental and imperative that concrete, irreversible gains in the general process of the transformation of our society, be recorded and sustained every fiscal year, however modest the gains may be. We must therefore, define the programmes in accordance with the available means, as well as in terms of a realistic assessment of our capabilities, rather than on the basis of simplistic idealism.

OVERVIEW OF SECTORS

1 EDUCATION

Education is the key to any effort for achieving national unity. It can bridge social, cultural and class differences, raise national consciousness, increase the national ability to meet obligations in the international community and, in general, increase productivity and the standard of living. Every sector of socio-economic endeavour requires a sound educational base. Illiteracy is crippling and the shortage of skilled manpower can seriously undermine any socio-economic development plan.

We must, therefore, pursue a four-part strategy for the development of human resources:

1 Eradication of illiteracy
2 Rational development of a formal education
3 Training of skilled labour
4 Establishment of adequate incentives

Literacy programmes should be set up at all convenient locations and directed primarily at adults in villages, townships, working places and the armed forces.

Formal education comprises the primary, secondary and university levels, as well as professional or technical training. Formal education must include basic education in writing, reading, arithmetic, national history, natural sciences, geography and reasonable fluency in the official language.

Basic education should include primary school and two years of secondary education, but may be upgraded to full secondary education at an advanced stage of national socio-economic development. Basic education must be compulsory for all children of schoolgoing age.

Secondary education must be the best possible in order to provide competent administrative personnel, skilled manpower and students qualified to enter university. Secondary education should be sufficiently advanced to serve the needs of most citizens, lest higher education becomes an empty symbol.

All education must be free and democratic. By free we mean that tuition will be gratis, except for books and school materials, and financial assistance will be rendered to needy students for the education of their studies. By democratic we mean that all children of schoolgoing age will have the opportunity of attending school at all levels, including higher education, provided that individual student's academic accomplishment warrants society's continued investment in the advancement of his education. In order to ensure academic excellence, balance professional training and prevent excesses or shortages of skilled manpower in certain professional fields, students entering high school or technical school will receive thorough vocational guidance.

Without economic or monetary counterparts, national investment in education or professional training will produce little or nothing. It is therefore important, to establish a system of incentives, to remunerate work in relation to its value for the overall modernization of the economy.

It is also not enough to adjust incentives so as to orient the population toward those fields of activity that are of interest to the economic development. In agriculture, for instance, we must modernize rural life in order to stimulate the population and prevent its exodus to urban areas.

Private industry must share in the responsibility of having to train skilled manpower, by providing financial backing and practical training programmes.

Private schools under the sponsorship of religious organizations will be encouraged, provided that school curriculum, norms and other aspects comply strictly with government guidelines, in the spirit of promoting equal opportunities for all people.

The overall effort to prepare skilled manpower will exceed the expected overall economic growth rate.

Human resources development strategies should include ways of combating both shortages and excesses of specialized manpower.

In shaping our national educational outlook, we must take into account Angola's repeated subjugations by foreign powers, the high level of illiteracy, and the social and cultural diversity of the people. Our approach must therefore be realistic and practical, and aimed at the vast numbers of working peasants, who have always been on the outermost fringes of previous educational systems.

Portuguese must be retained as the official language, notwithstanding the integration of national languages in the education system to preserve our African heritage. This, however, will not be compulsory.

Our immediate action programme in education will include:

1 Creation of permanent institutions to establish and co-ordinate educational policies.
2 Drawing up of an inventory of the present level of literacy in the country as well as its demographical and geographical distribution.
3 Allocation of material resources to combat illiteracy on local, regional and national levels and to implement policies on basic education.
4 Evaluation of existing material conditions (schools) and the position of youths of school-going age at various educational levels to ensure that existing facilities are used as efficiently as possible and to assess the demand for expansion.
5 Creation of commissions to establish and review school programmes and curricula, for primary and secondary schools.
6 Evaluation of requirements for, and acceleration of the establishment of middle-level technical schools and advanced professional training institutions or universities to deal effectively with the question of national manpower shortages.
7 Undertaking of a detailed study of manpower training needs in education.
8 Creation of special educational institutions for handicapped war veterans and handicapped children.
9 Creation of career guidance centres to advise and counsel the youth on academic and professional pursuits.
10 Creation of parent guidance centres to

Digitized by Google

inform and educate the parents on school life and its purposes, and on the school conditions of their children, since, in fact, a wholesome education is a process requiring the participation of the parents, the family, the community, and the school itself.

11 Establishment of criteria for admission on all levels of education.

12 Obtaining assistance and co-operation from the international community.

2 HEALTH

All socio-economic progress depends largely on the health and nutrition of the population. Longevity and productive capacity too, depend largely on health education and the eradication of diseases that sap the vitality of our people.

At the same time, most health problems in Angola derive from poverty, widespread endemic diseases, malnutrition, undernourishment and general ignorance of the population, concerning elementary health, hygiene and sanitation principles. This conditions are generally aggravated by inadequate government concern for policies on public sanitation, inadequate housing, lack of running water and sewage systems, lack of cleanliness and public hygiene as well as total lack of government policies to serve the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people — the rural population.

As in the education, health care must be the right, not the privilege, of every Angolan citizen. Health and medical care must therefore, be free to all citizens in a disadvantaged economic situation.

A minimum action programme for the health sector must include:

1 Intensive public health, nutrition and hygiene education of the Angolan people in schools, working places, and rural areas.

2 Introduction of health, hygiene and sanitation courses in school curricula.

3 Establishment of a programme to train public health and sanitation technicians, with emphasis on health education, rural health problems, school health, industrial health, preventive medicine, environmental sanitation and social work (assistance to the sick, invalids, the elderly and the mentally sick).

4 Establishment of public health and pharmaceutical services as well as specialized services for the control of endemic diseases.

5 Provision of special attention to maternal and child care.

6 Investment in the training of doctors, nurses, midwives, paramedics, pharmacists and other medical auxiliary personnel, as well as the creation of material means to effectively prevent the loss of professionals, especially medical doctors, to foreign countries.

7 Establishment of productive co-operation with international organizations, such as the WHO.

8 Creation of up-to-date statistical services, to equip socio-economic planners with statistical data for constant assessment and improvement of health conditions. Regular comparison of the ratios of population/hospital beds, patients/doctors, infant mortality/mortality rates, etc, as basic indicators of national health and hygiene.

9 Undertaking of a regular appraisal of the available network of hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, equipment and materials.

10 Establishment of a biomedical, health, and pharmaceutical research institute.

11 Establishment of a national plan for immunization especially against TB, smallpox, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and whooping cough.

12 Defining of policies to ensure adequate national health services, planning and administration and adequate supply of medicine and equipment in the country.

13 Establishment and regulation of privately-funded and administered health institutions.

14 Mobilization and allocation of public funds for the health sector to serve the Angolan people free of charge.

3 LABOUR

Labour collectively represents the sum of the dynamic human energies that can be exerted on the environment to transform it and produce the needed goods and services for society. It represents physical, human power, the skills and craftsmanship, technological knowledge, and all other intellectual facilities, embodying forms of human energy that could generate wealth by exploiting the country's potential.

Labour is also the most noble form of man's fulfilment, enabling him to express his creative capabilities and to contribute to society. Labour must therefore never be exploited or viewed as a form of servitude but rather as the most dignifying human endeavour.

UNITA therefore, strives for the transformation of the working and production relations of individuals in their organizations or enterprises, in order to give true meaning to labour in the Angolan society. This is relevant especially in the light of the bitter memories the Angolan people have of the inhuman labour policies of the previous regimes, when forced labour (including in its disguised forms under the MPLA regime) was a cruel practice of repression and systematic destruction of human lives in the unadulterated exploitation of man.

UNITA's concept of equality, justice and freedom entails, above all, the dignification of labour and the immediate and total abolition of all forms of forced labour. We must ensure the Angolan citizens of the constitutional right of choosing their occupation, respecting their work, being fairly remunerated for the work done, working under safe conditions, and being able to assemble freely or organize themselves in free labour or trade unions, to collectively protect their interests and thus further the cause of democracy.

Labour productivity — the quantity and quality of goods and services produced per unit of labour — is naturally a function of the degree of scientific and technological advancement, the level of industrialization, the socio-political climate, workers' morale and discipline, environmental working conditions and above all, the adequacy of the incentive system (monetary rewards, opportunity for advancement and availability of goods and services the worker can acquire with part of his earnings, so as to improve his standard of living and achieve prosperity).

It is recognized that labour productivity is generally several times higher in industrialized countries than in an agrarian society, and modernized agriculture is infinitely more productive there than traditional farming. It is therefore vitally important for the economic development plan to define the parameters within which Angola can effectively deal with this key factor in socio-economic development.

The high level of illiteracy, the widespread shortage of skilled labour, the

Digitized by Google

inadequacy of past policies regarding the worker and the existence of a subsistence type of agriculture, are some of the basic handicaps that undermine Angola's labour productivity.

We need to revise rapidly and thoroughly all existing labour codes and to formulate adequate labour legislation, created, above all, in order to protect the freedom, the liberty and the dignity of the worker. All forms of forced labour, even disguised forms, must be forbidden. The individual must be free to pursue the occupation of his choice, to earn his living and improve his social condition. Workers should also be free to organize themselves in associations or clubs for their collective betterment. A worker should have the right of paid annual leave, and conditions must be created to enable the continuous improvement of the skills of the worker.

UNITA's socio-economic development planning must therefore include an action programme on labour reflecting the following points:

1 Formulation of labour regulations and statutes having the force of law.
2 Detailed general survey of present labour conditions and their evolution during the previous regimes of foreign domination.
3 Detailed scientific studies to find ways to increase labour productivity and availability, and to improve working conditions in general.
4. Establishment of minimum working age, duration of working day and working week, minimum salary, promotion criteria and pensions.
5 Protection of pregnant women and children.
6 Promotion of industrial and public hygiene and safety standards in and around working places by means of a government department, for labour inspection.
7. Establishment of norms to harmonize employer-employee relations.
8 Establishment of regional and local employment centres to monitor the rate of unemployment or underemployment, the type of skills in shortage or excess, as well as the availability of employment for work-seekers.
9 Establishment of training facilities and opportunities in every enterprise as a form of raising national productivity.
10 Undertaking of a feasibility study for the establishment of a social security system to assist a worker who finds himself temporarily unemployed and or/to assist the unemployed in general, especially the heads of families. The study should determine eligibility criteria for benefits, allocation of funds and effects on the overall social well-being.

4 AGRICULTURE

We must aim toward national self-sufficiency with regards to agricultural products in general and food in particular. We must also recognize the various limiting factors imposed by the agricultural sector on the entire socio-economic development plan, for there is an intimate interrelationship between overall growth objectives, the rhythm of industrialization, export objectives and required increases in agricultural production, the needs for raw materials for industries, etc.

Most of Angola's socio-economic development will, therefore, depend on improving present agricultural practices. At present, more than 80% of the Angolan population lives in rural areas, in a subsistence economy, directly or indirectly dependent upon agrarian activities (farming, livestock and forestry). Given this demographic fact, the agrarian sector, when developed from subsistence to a market economy, will indeed be the key to global national progress. Self-sufficiency in food and the production of surplus goods for export will help to free Angola from foreign dependence and generate foreign currency for importing equipment, for building infrastructure, or for investment in other vital projects.

The modernization of agriculture will spontaneously free a large portion of the population currently in agriculture for other growing economic sectors such as industry, public administration, and commerce. Progress in agriculture is therefore, fundamental to Angola's prosperity.

Angola's potential for agricultural production is enormous. The vastness of the territory, its ecological diversity and the variety of its resources when exploited by modern agronomical science, could ensure a high national production of:

- A variety of nutritional and industrial crops, typical of the tropical, subtropical and temperate zones, in quantities not only sufficient for domestic needs but also for export.
- Timber, whether as fuel or as raw material for a variety of industries.
- Livestock in large quantities and of excellent quality for meat, poultry, eggs, milk, wool, and leather not only sufficient for domestic needs, but also for export.

Truly, there are certain adverse natural factors that will condition agricultural production in varying degrees. Fortunately, most of these factors have already been clearly identified and defined, and the appropriate corrective techniques have been formulated.

For instance, many soils are highly deficient in phosphorus, easily affected by erosion, and with very low levels of fertility; hence the meagre unit production obtained by the traditional farmer, tolerable only within the framework of subsistence agriculture. Rational fertilization schemes can correct these limiting factors of soil productivity. Angola is endowed with abundant reserves of phosphates of excellent quality, which can be applied directly to correct the main soil deficiencies in plant-digestible phosphorus. Other existing materials in the country — such as petroleum, natural gas, potassium salts, gypsum, limestone and sulphur — may feed a chemical industry to produce most fertilizers essential to the modernization of agriculture.

Angola possesses abundant water resources not only for electric power generation but also for irrigation schemes to ugrade vast areas with inadequate rainfall. Scientific research has identified the most significant pests, plant and animal diseases in Angola; the techniques have also been developed for prevention or treatment.

In order to attain our fundamental objectives — self-sufficiency in agricultural products, socio-economic promotion of the rural Angola, and surplus production for export in the agrarian sector — our agricultural development strategy must be based on the following considerations:

(a) Agrarian development must be an integral part of an overall programme for the country within the socio-economic development plan.
(b) Angolan farmers and their families must be the focus of agrarian programme, fully supported and assisted by the government and in

Digitized by Google

structured co-operation with the entire rural community; the farmers will be active participants, encouraged to work with dedication and with openness to technological innovations.

(c) Soil is a precious and irreplaceable national asset. It must therefore, be rationally utilized so as to assure its conservation and to correct its inherent imbalances, thus, enabling us to constantly improve upon its level of fertility.

(d) The systems to be adopted in the agricultural, forestry and livestock projects, will be determined on an agro-ecological basis with solid support of technical-scientific knowledge, to achieve higher economic profitability of the soil.

(e) In agrarian development we should favour the family enterprise, organized in viable social and economic moulds within the framework of intensive farming. However, given the various factors that dictate the need for large rather than small family-scale enterprises, private initiative must be encouraged to undertake large scale corporate and cooperative ventures, materially and financially equipped to carry out rational development of resources, provided that collective national interests are safeguarded.

(f) The agricultural entrepreneur will only feel motivated to invest in large-scale ventures and promote the progressive increase of the earth's productive capacity if he is entitled to own the land or, at least, if he is entitled to utilize the land for periods of time adequate for long-term projects.

(g) Farmers must be the first beneficiaries of the products of their work, adequately valued and paid for at fair prices. They must, therefore, organize themselves in co-operative schemes to enable them to intervene decisively in the commercialization and, eventually, in the industrial processing of their products; thus, they may also collectively acquire the means of production, especially farm machinery.

Given these considerations and the existing bottlenecks (lack of transportation routes, storage and distribution facilities, or total structural disorganization), the following action programme will be adopted as a priority:

1 Establishing a series of incentives to individual, private and collective initiatives, to achieve rapid self-sufficiency in food.
2 Organizing of government support and assistance programmes to the farmer, technological, financial and organizationally. This implies the structuring of the agriculture ministry, to integrate mechanisms and services at national and regional levels so as to ensure prompt, efficient and reliable assistance to the farmer; the re-organization of agricultural training at various levels aiming at the preparation of adequate professional manpower for the sector, with special attention to rural agricultural technicians who will be the physical link between the farmer and the agricultural research laboratories.
3 Gathering and processing all technical and scientific data related to production of plants and animals in Angola and the publication thereof, in a form most accessible to potential users.
4 Ensuring the supply, at affordable prices and opportune seasons, of the means of production, especially seeds and choice plants, fertilizers, soil conditioners (correctors), pesticides, agricultural tools and animal breeders, bearing in mind Angola's own potential in many of these production factors. In this case we emphasize the need to develop rapidly the production of phosphate mines in the Cabinda and Zaire provinces.
5 Promoting animal and mechanical energy for traction, as well as the use of agricultural tools and machinery for tilling, crop dusting and harvesting, so as to increase the physical productivity of labour and to enable the cultivation of larger areas of land within the framework of family farming practices.
6 Establishing a system of rural credit adapted to the concrete needs of the rural world. This should be timely, fast and accessible to all interested citizens; sufficiently flexible in acceptance of possible guarantees; decentralized, to be as close as possible to its users; supervised in order to ensure its application to the intended purpose, on the condition that the farmer who receives it uses optimal agricultural and cattle-raising techniques.
7 Establishing minimum prices for agricultural products before planting, and guaranteeing transportation and marketing thereof.
8 Reorganizing commercial and distribution facilities for agricultural products and other essential consumer goods, providing transportation and storage networks.
9 Creating agriculture co-operatives able to intervene in the commercial network, thereby eliminating the middleman and improving prices for both the farmer and the consumer.

5 INDUSTRY

While we proclaim agriculture to be the natural base of Angola's economy, it must be recognized that industry will also be a key factor in its development, allowing for high growth rates, within a relatively short period of time and conditioning viability of other economic sectors such as agriculture itself.

In developing our national industry, the primary aim will be to meet an increasing domestic demand for diversified goods and services, using local raw materials and local or national labour at improved costs in relation to comparable products from abroad. This entails increasing production and productivity, diversifying the end products, attaining accelerated development rates and promoting the development of human resources. In short, we aim at self-sufficiency in a variety of essential goods and services by practising self-reliance as well as by the rational exploitation of our natural resources and their processing into more profitable export products for foreign exchange earnings.

Industrial development must be justified by a quantitative and qualitative increase in production and in the production process itself, as well as by a sense of harmony between that development and other short, medium and long-term interests.

In a highly competitive and uncontrollable foreign market, our foreign exchange earnings can only be ensured by diversifying and improving on our export products, even if the latter are made up essentially of raw materials. Processed raw materials have an upgraded export value and entail reduced shipping costs.

The industrial development programme must also take into account the need for a balanced production of raw materials in

Digitized by Google

the light of the present domestic demands and the conservation of resources for the future.

In addition to the basic laws of supply and demand, various factors will naturally determine the viability of industrial development. These include the adequacy of the transportation and communications sector; the availability of energy; the soundness of agricultural and other sectors producing raw materials; the availability of storage facilities, infrastructure, skilled manpower, equipment and capital; and above all, a sound policy spelling out clearly the incentive criteria for the developping undertaking as well as for the individual worker. Industrial development, therefore, is not only a key factor in overall economic progress but also an integral part of a development process, where progress in one sector depends on progress in another sector.

Lack of national infrastructures, the presently unaffordable huge capital outlays required, the restrictive foreign market, and other factors may rule out the feasibility of the establishment of heavy industry in the form of heavy machinery and equipment construction for the time being, except in automobile and equipment assembly factories. Viable industrial sectors must therefore be defined realistically to avoid costly ventures that are never completed nor generate positive returns on investment. Where it is economically sound to import, then we must import for as long as necessary.

(a) Processing

Priorities in the processing industry include:

- A processing industry to transform agricultural products into a greater variety of quality food products and other essential consumer goods: cereal flour for bakeries; pasta; biscuits and bread; sugar; cooking oil; beer; leatherwear; footwear; bags; soap; health and hygiene products; etc.
- A textile industry to process cotton, sisal and similar raw materials into clothing.
- A processing industry to transform forestry resources into a variety of products for local consumption and/or export: lumber, plywood, pulp wood, furniture, etc.
- A petrochemical industry to produce fertilizers and basic chemical products, including batteries, tyres, matches, etc.

(b) Fishing

There is undoubtedly an enormous economic potential in this sector, both as nutrition for our population and as a highly lucrative export commodity. Investments in the fishing industry could easily produce good returns on capital, whether in export or in domestic trade. Angola was at one time a fish-exporting country, and efforts should now be made to restore the fishing industry, at least to its pre-independence production levels of about one million tons annually.

In order to rehabilitate this sector, we must make an objective analysis of what caused the downfall of the fishing industry over the past few years:

- Unfair treaties with foreign countries which enjoy exclusive rights to fish in territorial waters of Angola, turning little of the catch to the domestic market.
- The general economic disorganization.
- The usual lack of trained manpower and local entrepreneurs.
- Government policies that give no adequate incentives to individual fishermen or small enterprise.
- Lack of repair and maintenance infrastructure.
- Inadequacy of the fishing fleet.
- Lack of supplies to fishermen.
- Serious bottlenecks in the distribution circuits.
- Lack of transportation and storage facilities.
- Lack of government supporting agencies.

Lack of capital for investment.

To reach pre-independence production levels, we need to:

1. Establish a comprehensive policy on marine resources development.
2. Re-assess existing facilities by undertaking an inventory of vessels and their maximum utilization.
3. Establish new ownership criteria, restoring as much as possible to private hands and providing the latter with adequate credit facilities as well as technical assistance.
4. Create material conditions to improve shipyard maintenance facilities.
5. Establish fair and just co-operation agreements with foreign countries not only to make up for the national shortage of skilled manpower, but also to enable profitable joint ventures in marine resources exploitation.
6. Improve on the national transportation network and storage facilities along the main distribution lines.
7. Establish viable processing facilities: installation of curing/drying systems, freezing facilities, operable canning industry, fishmeal and fish oil production.
8. Improve upon the infrastructures of commercialization.
9. Establish a fishing technology to carry out marine resources research, in order to find ways to protect the environment, conserve marine species, utilize available species most efficiently, and train manpower in fishing and related activities.
10. Integrate the fishing industry in an overall socio-economic development plan.

(c) Extractive Industry

The primary objective in this sector is to earn foreign currency by exporting mineral products — oil and metals, either in crude or processed form.

Oil production and diamond mining, today constitute the main economic activity in Angola, accounting for about 95 per cent of the country's exports. Hence the vulnerability of the economy, hostage to a single raw material exporting pattern, with obvious adverse consequences. Petroleum, like most mining resources, is a depletable, non-renewable economic asset, with a market value totally dependent on unstable and external supply-and-demand factors.

Given Angola's vast potential in mineral resources, a rational effort must be made to diversify the industry into various profitable mining activities, so as to increase foreign currency earning capabilities, as well as to provide for a wider range of domestically supplied raw materials for other vital industrial sectors. It is therefore, necessary to give a new direction and a new impulse to the economic evaluation of diamonds and other precious metals; iron, copper, manganese, zinc, uranium, phosphates, coal and industrial rock mining.

Mining is, by nature, a high technology, heavy capital sector. It requires policies to:

- Induce investors to put capital into the industry.

Digitized by Google

- Train a reservoir of professionals who can eventually ensure national management for this vital sector.
- Engage foreign manpower.
- Define the range of state/private enterprise partnership.
- Carry out a permanent national programme of geological exploration to find new mineral reserves and reduce overhead production costs.
- Define priority mining sectors and establish criteria for the definition of strategic mineral resources — radio-active material, solid fuels, hydrocarbons, ferrous metals, etc.
- Establish a programme for mineral conservation and environmental protection.

Angola's mineral resources are still very little known. Only an extensive geological exploration programme will allow us to define the country's mineral potential. But modern-day geological surveys and explorations are costly undertakings. The project must therefore, be gradual but steady, aimed at covering the country within a pre-established period of time. In order to achieve our objectives in the mining sector, UNITA's action programme for the extractive industry includes the following:

(a) Thorough examination of existing mining legislation, mining contracts and infrastructures, for best utilization of the available means.
(b) Appraisal of state ownership and participation, with a view to improving incentives for the investor and benefits for both the investor and the country.
(c) Increased research and exploration in the rest of the country and establishment of the most viable mineral development and production policy.
(d) Restructuring of diamond mining operations to reach pre-indepence production levels.
- Establish a manpower training centre to prepare diamond mining workers in sorting, classification, grading and distribution.
- Intensify diamond exploration work to increase the mining of diamond reserves beyond Luanda Province.
- Establish an effective system to combat illegal diamond trading, today representing an irreparable loss of the country's wealth.

(e) Re-activating existing iron mining operations for highgrade ore.
- Update feasibility studies on iron ore pelletizing.

(f) Increased non-ferrous mining prospecting in areas in which the geological formations are known to be favourable for mineral deposits.
(g) Initiating and expanding the mining of phosphate rock for production of soil conditioners (fertilizers for agriculture).
(h) Undertaking ornamental and industrial rock quarrying, especially of marble, quartz, clay minerals, feldspar, talc, gypsum, etc.
(i) Optimization of gold mining.
(j) Reviewing and updating the national policy regarding the extraction of hydrocarbonates (petroleum and natural gas), with a view to achieving rational exploitation; increased exploitation of known reserves, protection of natural environment, feasibility studies on the best way to develop and recover natural gas (for domestic consumption and export) etc.
(k) Creating a governmental department, ministry or similar body, to co-ordinate and implement state policy on extractive industries (with the exception of hydrocarbonates whose extraction and processing would have to be the responsibility of the ministries of energy and industry).
(l) Establishment of a national mining and geological service and a national mining and geological institute, equipped with modern tools for geological, geophysical and geochemical prospecting and geological surveys, whose initial tasks must include the elaboration of a national geological map, within a relatively short period.

(d) Tourism

Angola has a diversity of breathtaking natural scenery: waterfalls, flora, game reserves, landscape, beaches, and a generally pleasant climate. These natural assets could provide the foundation for an extensive tourism industry, whether for a visiting foreigner or for a sightseeing resident.

The development of tourism could constitute an important source of foreign currency earnings. It could also provide thousands of jobs and stimulate other economic activities such as the hotel industry.

But Angola's vast natural tourist resources have generally remained unexploited. The Portuguese colonial rulers were very suspicious of foreign visitors in the country, fearing that they would influence Africans with "subversive notions" and hasten revolt against colonialism; they were also resentful of the inevitable criticism or condemnation of their rule by a foreign visitor. Likewise, the present MPLA regime abhors foreigners on almost identical grounds.

Realistically, however, the development of the tourist industry must be conceived of as a by-product of progress in other key sectors such as transportation and communications, housing and hotel business, food supply service, and immigration policies. It is, however, necessary to start out immediately by:

1 Thoroughly assessing the potential of the tourist sector, identifying and listing the most outstanding natural assets in the sector.
2 Identifying the most serious obstacles to the opening of the sites to visitors.
3 Defining a basic policy for the tourist industry, including environmental conservation measures.
4 Identifying areas that may be readily developed with minimum investment.
5 Setting up a national inter-ministerial commission (Commerce and Industry, etc.) on tourism.

6 TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Transportation and communications are to socio-economic development what blood vessels and nerves are to the human body. People and raw material must be conveyed in order to produce goods and services, which in turn must be conveyed to consumers.

Improvements in production methods or in productivity will be meaningless, unless there is corresponding growth in transportation and communication services, since theoretically, the total quantity of goods and services produced by the society will always be proportional to the available transportation and communication equipment, multiplied by the performance speed of the equipment. While this simplistic model may not be readily applicable to all development activities, it is obvious that the tonnage of

Digitized by Google

goods, number of passengers or volume of postal deliveries by train, boat, car or plane, will definitely depend on the capacity, physical availability and efficiency of each of these means of conveyance. If the efficiency or rate of performance of the system is low, one might have to increase the physical availability number of units to operate with.

In reality it is the factor of efficiency which must be constantly controlled and upgraded on each system. The purchasing of new equipment may be impossible or economically unwise; but technical know-how, spare parts, maintenance discipline, optimum scheduling and rigorous observance of established timetables are the key to the productivity and reliability of the transportation and communication systems.

The transportation and communication sector is capital-intensive. A policy must be outlined to permit massive private investment in the sector, except in telecommunications (posts, telegraphs, telex, telephone, TV and radio) and airlines, which should be controlled by the state. Private investment, private ownership and private management of most transportation enterprises, within general government guidelines, will create the best incentives for the entrepreneur and the worker, with immediate positive results for the whole country.

Within the framework of planning responsibilities, the transportation and communication sector requires constant monitoring of all circuits to detect and correct bottlenecks, to streamline the flow and forecast national needs for expected economic growth.

Comprehensive and detailed studies will be undertaken rapidly for this sector of transportation and communication, aiming at defining a minimum action programme for each specific subsector:

(a) Railroads

Due to the country's present political-economic crisis, only about one fourth of Angola's 3 160 km of railroad network is in operation today. We therefore urgently need to restore the country's network to normal, pre-independence operating conditions. Efforts will also be made to expand the railroad network progressively into remote regions as an effective way to reach the deep countryside for development programmes.

Of the four Angolan railroad systems, the 1 300 km trans-continental Benguela Railway line (CFB), because of its international and strategic importance to the region, rates special attention and special urgency in reconstruction efforts. The CFB is of vital economic importance to Angola's neighbours Zaire and Zambia, therefore entailing a special regional responsibility for Angola.

In addition, the CFB, cutting across the entire width of the national territory through the geographical centre of the country, constitutes the most useful tool for the development of the most densely populated portion of Angola.

Re-opening and rehabilitation of the CFB will therefore, be of the utmost urgency. This will entail:

1 Assessment of the extensive repair work on bridges, rail segments, and related facilities.
2 Inventory and rehabilitation of existing rolling stock.
3 Establishment of adequate management personnel.
4 Resumption of passenger and cargo services on a regular basis.
5 Re-opening of contacts and negotiations with neighbouring countries with a view to immediate joint utilization of the CFB and its full restoration to international traffic.
6 Negotiations with private owners and investors on reorganization and management.
7 Manpower training.
8 Assessment of condition, facilities of the Port of Lobito (since the re-opening of the CFB to international traffic is strictly dependent on the adequacy of this port).

(b) Ports — Maritime Transportation

Related to Angolan railroads' economic viability, are seaport facilities at the terminus of each railroad network, the maritime means of transportation, and its intimate relationship with external trade and commercial dealings with other countries.

As in the fishing industry, serious shortages of qualified seafaring manpower have relegated this important subsector to foreign monopolists, depriving the country of adequate control of this communication link, as well as of the exploitation of its immense potential in Angolan manpower employment. An immediate action programme will be aimed at the following:

1 Search for productive co-operation with foreign countries.
2 Undertaking of an up-to-date evaluation study of the state of ports, sea vessels, enterprises and manpower adequacy.
3 Establishment of a merchant marine technical school for port workers and seafaring technology.
4 Definition of a policy for maritime transportation, including regular sealiners, domestic and international navigation, passenger and cargo transportation, etc.
5 Modernization of ports, standardization of cargo handling devices, improvement of manpower productivity, assessment of the adequacy of storage facilities, and establishment of adequate maintenance and repair facilities in ports.
6 Establishment of a national merchant fleet with long-range cargo ships.
7 Establishment of a government maritime transportation service to register all vessels, issue navigation regulations in Angola's territorial waters, co-ordinate port activities, review tariff schedules, create uniform codes for safe seafaring, and establish and control a port police force.
8 Outline a method to eliminate the costly ship overstaying in Angolan ports, eliminate port congestion, and improve upon work discipline.

(c) Road Transportation Network

As with the railroad network, the 36 500 km road network (of which about 8 500 km have an asphalt surface and 28 000 km are all-weather roads with a gravel surface) that Angola possessed at the end of Portuguese colonialism is less than half usable today. A total absence of minimal road maintenance programmes has induced a rapid and extreme deterioration of the roads.

Roads are the basic national communication element between towns, villages, or communities — the vital link to progress, however unsophisticated the mechanical means of transportation may be. The dilemma is that there can be no adequate road network without a stable economy to finance it, but there can be no prosperous economy without a good road infrastructure to support it. Road construction must be expanded as early as

Digitized by Google

possible, as the economy grows. Given the heavy financial commitments that road building demands, it will be necessary to encourage private participation in public projects as well as local/regional initiative by private citizens, whether individually or collectively.

Road construction will also require consultations and joint projects with neighbouring countries within the framework of a regionally integrated road network.

Roads are just as good as the vehicles and the drivers that commute on them. Regulations on the type and physical conditions of vehicles on public roads, establishment of highway safety standards, drivers' competence tests, and availability of repair and maintenance shops in the country are all indispensable.

UNITA's minimum action programme for the road transportation subsector will include:

1 General survey of the road situation.
2 Establishment of a broad road and bridge programme.
3 Identification of access roads to key economic areas.
4 Establishment of a long-term highway construction programme to meet the demands of development.
5 Creation of a government road and transport department to establish road repair and maintenance infrastructures, public transport systems, set and control highway safety standards and auto drivers' tests, enforce safety regulations, assess urban transport problems, license vehicles, establish tariffs for taxis, etc.
6 Encouragement of private trucking enterprises and taxi companies.
7 Promotion of establishment of private auto garages throughout the country.
8 Establishment of auto mechanics and drivers' schools.
9 Establishment of a highway safety police.
10 Manpower training to provide the country with engineers, technicians, resource managers and administrators in this subsector.
11 Establishment of an optimum nationwide public mass transportation system to make up for the severe shortage of private means of transport.

(d) Civil Aviation

With about 180 airports and landing strips (of which only a third are in use in post-independence Angola), the country needs qualified technical personnel (pilots, aircraft mechanics, airport managers and civil aviation administrators) to complete its basic infrastructure for a wide utilization of aircraft for domestic passenger, cargo and postal services, as well as for the optimization of international air transport routes.

(e) Post and Telecommunications

There were 330 major post offices in the country at the end of Portuguese rule; now there are only about 100 in operation, and no new ones have been opened. Organization of the postal services must be a top priority for the government. An efficient mail delivery service, radio broadcasting programmes, telex, TV, telegraph and telephone facilities are an absolute necessity in any national effort to improve upon economic management, enable the establishment of economic relations with other countries, and raise the cultural level of the population.

Modern socio-economic development is inconceivable without fast, reliable means of communication (telephone, cable, telex, letters, radio).

Angola formerly had a reasonably adequate public telecommunication system including telegraph and a domestic, as well as international, automatic telephone network. In addition to a national radio broadcasting station, there was a nationwide network of provincial broadcasting radio stations and one television station.

Our immediate action programme for the telecommunications subsector must include:

1 Evaluation of the existing system to identify inadequacies and propose remedies.
2 Rehabilitation and re-activation of all existing postal and telegraph stations, extending them to all municipalities and smaller communities as well as the rural areas.
3 Progressive, but rapid improvement on postal services, as a basic national telecommunication service which must, therefore, process mail collection and delivery efficiently and reliably.
4 Establishment of a postal workers' training programme.
5 Stamp design and printing.
6 Modernization of the telephone and radio wave systems.
7 Adoption of the new wireless telephone system to speed up installation of the telephone network throughout the country.
8 Extension of the telex network to all major urban centres.
9 Subscription to existing communications satellites.
10 Establishment of an Institute of Telecommunications for training and research purposes.
11 Creation of adequate regulations for the telecommunications subsector.
12 Integration of the system into a regional and pan-African network.

7 ENERGY

Electric energy is basic to socio-economic progress, and is the key to industrial development. Angola is so abundantly blessed with water resources that the country can be wholly supplied with hydroelectric power.

At the end of Portuguese colonial rule, the energy sector included some six major hydroelectric power stations, with a generating capacity of more than 1 MVA each, and 67 hydro-electric and 1 263 thermo-electric medium to small-sized power stations for a combined output of 740 GWH.

The country's energy potential from major hydrographic basins, however, was estimated at:

Middle and Lower Cuanza Basin	26 200 GWH
Cunene River	6 800 GWH
Longa River	6 000 GWH
Queve River	14 800 GWH
Queve — Catumbela Basin	4 100 GWH
Catumbela River	9 000 GWH
Lucala River	5 100 GWH
TOTAL ESTIMATED POTENTIAL	72 000 GWH

It has been further estimated that the electric power demand for domestic needs in the foreseeable future, will not exceed 3 000 GWH, even at a high rate of industrialization.

It is, therefore, obvious that Angola's vast potential in hydro-electric energy would not only amply satisfy national needs but also, when adequately developed, provide a major surplus commodity for export to neighbouring countries.

A natural secondary (but vital) beneficiary of hydro-electric power development is the agricultural sector,

Digitized by Google

including rural development projects and other activities. These relations of complementarity, plus the inexhaustibility of water resources and the generally low cost per energy unit (notwithstanding the high initial cost of dam construction and equipment), render hydro-electric power development more attractive than other energy resources that are equally available in the country (coal, natural gas, oil, etc.).

The actual development and distribution of electric power in the country will, however, be dictated by several factors:

- Availability of a particular energy resource.
- Local industrial and household electric power demand.
- Cost of development and availability of capital.
- Charges which should be affordable to the average user.
- Accessibility of consumers to power distribution lines.
- Socio-demographic and economic conditions — whether it is economically feasible to install a power line to a small community many kilometres away from a power source, and whether the main concern is a factory installation or a general electrification of the area.
- Projected economic and population growth.
- Ecological and environmental considerations, etc.

UNITA's action programme for the energy sector will include the following steps:

1 Creation of an energy Department to deal with the energy problems on short-term and long-term basis.
2 Elaboration of a comprehensive energy policy to include development, distribution, investment, conservation and environmental protection.
3 Undertaking a full assessment of the current energy situation and an up-to-date estimate of the potential.
4 Assessment of costs for the conclusion of incompleted projects from the colonial days, and definition of a plan for the resumption of these projects.
5 Determination of priority projects — repair of damaged installations, renovation, expansion, modernization or installation of new facilities.
6 Elaboration of feasibillity studies and initiation of projects aimed at a rational, nationwide electrification programme, with special priority to specific development projects.
7 Establishment of an adequate accounting system for billing and collecting.
8 Establishment of criteria for electric power rates to consumers.
9 Development of co-operation with foreign entities for joint ventures in large-scale hydro-electric schemes.
10 Creation of a pool of competent professionals and technicians —engineers, scientists, etc. — to manage energy resources and carry out structured basic research in the energy field.

8 FOREIGN TRADE

Self-sufficiency and self-reliance in no way diminish the vital importance of commercial ties with other countries, whether for export or import of goods and services, at any stage of our national social-economic development.

As in external relations in general, foreign trade policies must be founded on a constant evaluation of national needs, to be based not only on past relationships with other countries but on the prospects for the future. We would aim to ensure the continuity of good relationships, to reformulate outdated ones, and to create new ones.

We must strive for credibility and reliability with our trading partners, prompt payment of debts and fulfilment of our obligations, in order to ensure respect for our national sovereignty and reciprocity of interests.

The essence, however, of foreign trade policies lies in answers to the fundamental questions of what to sell and what to buy abroad. We sell what we nationally produce, to obtain the currency reserves that are needed for our purchases abroad; and we buy what we need but cannot produce ourselves.

It is therefore obvious that our export products must be attractive, to meet the demands of the international market. Because of competition and fluctuations in demand, generally totally beyond our control, we must constantly strive to improve the quality and diversity of the products we export, to maximize our options for foreign currency earnings. This requires permanent market research and monitoring activities to identify international trends.

Angola cannot base its economy on a single-product export, such as oil, with its well-known unpredictably adverse consequences for the whole economy. Even if we export raw materials, we can diversify them: agricultural products, minerals, forest products, fish and hydro-electric power.

Imports will be geared to meet needs in consumer goods and services, equipment and machinery, technology and capital. Efforts will be made to encourage the population to prefer nationally produced goods over imported ones; however, this must not be done by ideological or political appeal, but rather by allowing the consumer, qualitatively or economically, to justify preference. Imports could be a challenge to national production to improve its quality.

UNITA envisages the establishment of good commercial ties with all countries, with special emphasis on the Western economic blocs — West Europe, EEC within the spirit of the Lome accords, North America and the African community — always on the basis of reciprocal advantages, equality and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. Notwithstanding comprehensive government regulations on foreign trade, UNITA does not accept the establishment of a state monopoly on imports and exports.

Our immediate action programme will include the following:

1 Elaboration of a foreign trade code.
2 Undertaking of a study project on diversification of Angola's foreign market, both for the placement of our products for export and for the procurement of equipment and other essentials for import.
3 Establishment of a National Foreign Trade Bureau to monitor activities, forecast trends, collect data on foreign market movement, set import/export tariffs, control export/import activities, issue import/export licences, and give technical assistance to private entrepreneurs.
4 Establishment of an Export Development Fund to assist in the co-ordination and rationalization of policies related to transport and placement of national products in the foreign market.
5 Promotion of foreign investment.
6 Stabilization and normalization of the import mechanism to ensure a regular, steady flow of needed import products.
7 Identification of major bottlenecks in the import circuit and adoption of remedies.

Digitized by Google

9 DOMESTIC TRADE

Beyond simply buying and selling, economic prosperity entails the development of a well-structured domestic trade. This involves money-merchandise relations, the purchasing power of the people in goods and services, and the availability of the merchandise.

Changes in the consumption patterns of the population determine changes in life style and standards of living. We cannot change from a subsistence economy to one of increased productivity and gross national product until we change consumption patterns. The role of commerce in this process is fundamental, not only in the distribution and exchange of available goods and services at fair prices, but also in improving the availability of essential consumer products, especially foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, detergents and health products, cultural materials, and maintenance and repair services.

Under the present regime there are serious obstacles to the improvement of domestic trade: adoption and application of anachronistic political principles (predominance of state monopoly, rigid state control on all economic activities), lack of means of transportation, paralysis of the railroad network, partial destruction of the road system, and congestion of seaports and storage areas. Thus Angolan farmers are not motivated to produce, for when they do, they have to witness the decay of their products due to lack of means to move the goods. (In 1980 alone for example, the MPLA regime paid U.S. $200 million in indemnities to foreign sea transportation companies whose ships stayed anchored for up to 16 months waiting to be offloaded at the Luanda harbour!)

Domestic trade is, therefore, intrinsically dependent on the performance of the transport sector for a smooth circulation of goods, especially to the countryside and in municipalities and small communities.

In domestic commerce, national progress can be achieved only by de-emphasizing state ownership and encouraging private initiative, private ownership and private management, under clear general government regulations, whether in retail or in also trading. Private commerce is, therefore, to be encouraged at all levels, except where strategic resources are involved.

UNITA's immediate action programme would include:

1 Undertaking an up-to-date evaluation of domestic trade throughout the country, to best define current commercial problems especially in the countryside: shortages of goods, unfair prices, illegal trade, transport problems, lack of know-how, demographic factors (too thinly dispersed rural population), inadequate legislation, etc.
2 Abolition of the repugnant class discrimination perpetrated at the present regime's leaders' stores, foreign advisers' stores, party's stores, supervisors' stores, people's stores, etc., whereby the ordinary people's stores are actually the least supplied, running empty most of the time.
3 Elaboration of domestic trade statutes and regulations.
4 Creating a National Bureau of Domestic Trade to monitor circulation of goods, identify bottlenecks, issue trade licences, oversee application of trade regulations, establish a trade inspection service, maintain liaison with the foreign Trade Bureau, establish prices, etc.
5 Promotion and establishment of large-scale national commercial enterprises.
6 Establishment of suitable regulations to control the quality and adequacy of urban markets.
7 Promotion and establishment of family-size commercial enterprises, especially in rural areas, to ensure local self-sufficiency in the supply of essential goods and services and a surplus of local products for export.
8 Undertaking a comprehensive feasibility study on trade expansion by identifying the ideal spots for the establishment of social-economic and cultural centres.
9 Creation of local commercial co-operatives.
10 Abolition of the card rationing system in grocery or department stores.
11 Concession of import licences to medium-sized retail and wholesale enterprises.
12 Establishment of consumer co-operatives to enhance the population's influence in improving the supply system.
13 Renovation and rehabilitation of the hotel, restaurant and bar industry.
14 Evaluation and rehabilitation of the entertainment business.
15 Rapid rehabilitation of food supply systems to public places — restaurants, hospitals, schools, social institutions, etc.
16 Establishment of a code of ethics for all businessmen, traders and distributors, to ensure honesty, fairness and reliability, and deliveries on schedule and in pre-determined quantities.
17 According special attention to the regulation of commercial activities with neighbouring countries by local border populations which may not fall under the jurisdiction of Foreign Trade.
18 Establishment of a National Commercial Institute to promote the training of manpower for a whole range of business and management disciplines.

10 BANKING AND FINANCE

Banking is the economic activity of receiving and safeguarding money and other valuables, lending money at interest, executing bills of exchange (cheques and drafts), buying and exchanging foreign currency, and issuing circulation notes of currency. Finance represents collectively the monetary resources including the public funds and the disposition of the public revenues by the government, as well as the skill in the management of these resources. Finance policies and activities are highly dependent on the ability and efficiency of the banking system.

Banking and finance are, therefore, intimately related activities to be streamlined into one development sector. They are functions aimed primarily at the management and control of national monetary resources, rather than to generate wealth. As such, banking and finance must be under the exclusive control of the state, notwithstanding the acceptance of private investment in the sector.

When a bank pays interest on deposits, it wields an effective tool to encourage the population to put its savings in the bank and acquire the habit of transacting through the bank. The bank must prove its usefulness to the average working citizen, who may thus, develop faith in the

Digitized by Google

system and entrust it with part of the fruits of his labour for posterity. A people's tendency to deposit their money in national banks is a sign of collective hope in the future — an indication of political stability and economic growth.

The bank must prove its usefulness to the average working citizen, who should be able to count on it for a loan to start a business or otherwise enhance his productive power, confident in the country's ability to benefit from, and to reward, his economic activities. Whereas saving is a token of the citizen's faith in the country's governing institutions, lending is the token of the latter's trust in the citizen.

The banking industry must be an effective public instrument for application of monetary and fiscal policies affecting investment, currency exchange rates, tariffs on exports and imports, interest rates, price stabilization and inflation control. It can therefore not operate in isolation but must be intrinsically linked to a far-sighted, sound foreign policy.

We believe in making a sustained effort to put the concept of price at the service of fair, orderly economic growth. Prices are, indeed, an essential factor in all economic endeavours, whether as a basic tool in the assessment of production efficiency, or in national income redistribution. Prices are also invaluable in regulating economic activities, enabling us to direct available resources toward the most promising goals and conditioning the whole market exchange mechanism. Naturally, care must be exercised at all times to prevent any tendency to compensate through price increases for the losses incurred by public mismanagement or government incompetence.

National currency is not just an economic tool: its conception, design and imagery generally embody the expression of a political ideal. Given the fundamental political objective of consolidation of national independence, national reconciliation and unity, now and in the future, it is obvious that neither the colonial escudo nor the MPLA's kwanza can be accepted as Angola's national currency.

The range of actions to be undertaken immediately in this sector must include:

1. Elaboration of a detailed but uncomplicated and efficient fiscal and monetary policy, including definition of relationships between domestic monetary policy and foreign exchange policy, and price stabilization.
2. Establishment of a national currency, backed by a feasibility study on the pros and cons of joining a major monetary zone.
3. Evaluation and re-organization of the existing banking system.
4. Establishment of a policy for contractual relations in mixed enterprises of state and foreign private investors, and investment in general.
5. Establishment of a graft-proof national bank accounting system.
6. Establishment of viable, up-to-date government budgeting and filing systems.
7. Organization of a system of taxation, interest rates, custom duties, tariffs, etc., in co-operation with the commerce sectors.
8. Enactment of adequate legislation to regulate the transfer of earnings from the state-controlled enterprises to the state treasury.
9. Establishment of mechanisms for reliable control of currency circulation, foreign exchange reserves, and foreign currency transfers.
10. Creation of a highly qualified and specialized agency to provide advice on money markets, analysis of the international monetary and financial situation and foreign technical advice.
11. Exploration of international assistance from the IMF, World Bank, individual countries and other financial organizations.
12. Promotion and establishment of life and property insurance businesses, both by the public and private initiatives, within the framework of general guidelines to be spelled out by the government.
13. Preparation of a pool of highly qualified national personnel in banking and finance, as well as midlevel technicians.

11 HOUSING

Social progress in Angola entails tackling the extremely urgent housing problems. Traditional rural housing, characterized by one-room mud and thatch "hut" construction, and the urban "muceques" or "sanzalas", characterized by carton-walled and tin-roofed cubicles, are the most conspicuous and most striking cause and effect of the under-development of the majority of the Angolan population. The urban housing situation has been aggravated by the great influx of population from rural areas.

Since 1975, the city of Luanda, for example, has doubled its population. This rural-to-urban migration has caused overcrowding in urban areas and makes local urban administrators overextend their capacities to provide the basic amenities and facilities required for an urban population.

Due to the scarcity of employment opportunities to absorb these staggering numbers of newcomers into urban areas, most of the unemployed or underemployed urban people end up living with others in the already crowded small shanty-town dwellings, or else they build new shanties. Due to the already mismanaged, rapidly dilapidated city in post-independence days and the mushrooming of the shanty-towns around, the city is virtually being absorbed into muceques or the sanzalas.

The low standard of living, the high cost of housing construction, and the lack of income to support urban life, force most of these people to accommodate themselves in poor living conditions, with very inadequate potable water, sanitation, sewage, garbage collection, recreational facilities, schools, transport, clinics, and other important amenities for a decent life.

The need for better housing is really urgent and critical. All efforts must be made to upgrade the slums and squatter settlements of the urban fabric in Angola and to rapidly improve the housing style in rural areas to a dignified level.

We recognize that huge sums of money would be required to provide decent shelter to every family today: it would literally exceed the whole public revenue for the next several years if government-financed housing projects were undertaken for all low income families. Add to this, the rate of population increase per year and the problem would never disappear.

We also recognize that this is a problem that plagues most African countries today. But we must set ourselves the goal of providing sanitary housing to every Angolan family whether in urban or rural areas, within the next decade and a half.

The concrete approach to the problem will be based on comprehensive feasibility studies and analyses of the various types

Digitized by Google

of low-income housing schemes, general urban renewal projects, rural development programmes and other development considerations.

Theoretically, such a giant national housing construction programme would require costly heavy construction machinery, concrete mixers, high technology, countless skilled personnel, etc., which would largely have to be imported at unaffordable foreign exchange values. Being so, we believe, right away, that investing large amounts of capital may not be the solution; but application of self-reliance principles by the people may prove to be the sound, logical approach.

Self-reliance entails, first of all, the need to train and show the people how they can best assist themselves in individually solving their own housing problems. Self-reliance would also provide for a lasting, realistic, and affordable solution to Angola's national problem. Training of manpower, planning, mass mobilization and orientation would thus, be the most effective and most important role the government should play in this sector.

Application of self-reliance would not preclude the need for help from the international community; it would simply make such foreign assistance more useful and justified. Nor does self-reliance preclude the need for large public and private investments in the housing sector, especially in large commercial buildings throughout the country.

The basic skills of technicians, craftsmen and operators that must be covered by the training programme for housing construction would include administrative assistants, accountants, building technicians, carpenters, masons, cleaning assistants, drivers, electrical fitters, property evaluators, health assistants, plumbers, vermin exterminators, cabinet makers, painters, gardeners, general clerks, building materials experts, and building maintenance experts.

UNITA's immediate action programme for the housing sector must include the following steps:

1 Establishment of a Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs to deal with housing problems not only in cities but also in the rural areas.
2 Definition of a comprehensive housing development policy.
3 Assessment of the magnitude of the housing problem in urban areas, including estimates of slum dwelling population.
4 Elaboration of a budget proposal for a nationwide housing project.
5 Elaboration of an inventory of available skilled and semi-skilled personnel in housing construction, and establishment of a manpower training programme.
6 Elaboration of a special urban renewal programme for the nation's capital and other major cities.
7 Identification of possible sources of funding.
8 Elaboration of an inventory of national building materials and the various forms of their utilization.
9 Establishment of an interministerial agency (Rural Development, Housing and Urban Affairs, Health, Education, Culture, Construction, Transport Energy, Interior, Finances and Planning) to deal collectively with the housing problem.
10 Establishment of a special framework of co-operation with the Ministry of Construction and Public Works.
11 Search for international co-operation.

12 RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Social progress in Angola should not be measured by urban standards of living, but rather by perceptible change in the remote rural areas where most Angolans live. Up to 80% of Angola's population is in the countryside rather than urbanized; it is therefore, essential to establish a Rural Development Programme to accelerate the process of raising the standard of living in the country.

On the other hand, the barren conditions of life in rural areas force many young people to migrate to the cities to seek better living conditions. But they generally end up frustrated, swelling the ranks of the unemployed and compounding the problems of the ill-equipped cities. Only by developing the rural areas will it be possible to retain the population in the countryside and save the cities.

We must therefore, make an all-out effort to bring roads, piped water, electricity, shopping centres, libraries, entertainment centres, clinics, schools, and other services to rural communities, to transform living conditions for our people.

We need, above all, to create the market for the purchase of the peasant's agricultural produce and artifacts as well as for the sale of essential goods such as soap, cooking oil, kerosene, clothing, salt, household appliances, blankets, etc., thus, transforming the social cultural centres into social-economic development bases for the rural areas.

Because of the vastness of the country, the dispersed nature of the population, the lack of basic infrastructure (roads, electricity, piped water, etc.), the high illiteracy level and the generally low economic productivity of the rural population, rural development will require the commitment of immense resources and a combined effort of various sectors and interministerial agencies and services, such as Agriculture, Culture, Domestic Trade, Transport and Communications, Health, Education, Industry, Energy, Housing and Banking departments.

It must be recognized that modernization of agriculture is the single most effective solution to rural development. UNITA's concrete action programmes for rural development will include the following steps:

1 Definition of a detailed rural development policy.
2 Establishment of priority projects.
3 Creation of health and hygiene education brigades to launch a campaign of public education.
4 Creation of anti-illiteracy brigades.
5 Establishment of a public education programme on model living conditions: home building, furnishing, maintenance, etc.
6 Establishment of a Rural Development Ministry to co-ordinate interministerial programmes on rural development.
7 Establishment of specific goals to be achieved within a fiscal period.
8 Identification and definition of major problems in rural development and their effect on urban life.

13 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public administration is a key sector linking the government to local populations in the implementation of various policies.

But this is also a sector that, in the past, has been terribly misrepresented and totally removed from the concept of *government of the people, for the people, by the people* that Angola should

Digitized by Google

materialise. During the colonial rule, a "Chefe de Posto" (or Civil "Administrator") was invariably associated with brutality and unfairness to the African population; he wielded the hand-held dehumanizing "palmatória" to arbitrarily inflict physical punishment on the people, to extort burdensome, unfair taxes, to raid villages for forced labourers, etc. MPLA's public administration, on the other hand, is characterized by nepotism, favouritism and blind partisanship giving rise to total bureaucratic incompetence, inefficiency and paralysis. Today Angola drifts away in chaos, virtually ungoverned, for lack of minimum infrastructures to administer throughout the country the day-to-day government activities.

UNITA's programme of organizing and re-organizing public administration includes the following:

1 Examination and restructuring of the country's administrative divisions with a view to establishing an effective, dynamic public administration, responsive and sensitive to the pace and complexity of the social-economic reconstruction process.
2 Establishment of a Public Administration or Interior Ministry to co-ordinate all regional and local public administration.
3 Elaboration of legislation and statutes for the public administration sector, including a code of conduct for all public administration officers and the forms of co-operation with other ministries.
4 Assessment of availability of qualified personnel in public administration.
5 Establishment of programmes of manpower training through schooling, on-the-job training, continuing professional training, scholarships abroad, and co-operation with friendly countries.
6 Preparation of an adequate and knowledgeable police force, to ensure public safety and security.
7 Establishment of criteria for the selection of public administration career officers, where national political consciousness should be essential, but technical know-how, mandatory.

SUBSECTION II
FOREIGN POLICY

Article 54
Elaborate a progressive political programme which guarantees our independence and sovereignty.

Article 55
Declare null and void all unjust contracts, unilaterally entered into by the minority illegitimate regime of MPLA.

Article 56
Establish bonds of solidarity with all the peoples engaged in the struggle against Russian expansionism and against all forms of human exploitation.

Article 57
Subscribe to the Charter of the OAU so long as this organization adopts a correct stance in the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the African continent. UNITA advocates the establishment and consolidation of regional organizations charged with the responsibility of effectively solving political and economic problems.

Article 58
Respect the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, which condemn the interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Article 59
Subscribe to the principles of non-alignment, so long as this movement maintains its commitment to the anti-imperialist war.

Article 60
Object to establishment or maintenance of foreign military bases on national territory.

Article 61
Refuse to be drawn into military pacts or alliances with whatever foreign power.

Article 62
Promote relations of friendship, economic co-operation, peace and understanding with all other free peoples, independent defenders of social justice and human rights, regardless of their political systems.

CHAPTER V

MEMBERS

Article 63
Any Angolan who accepts the programme of UNITA and participates actively in its implementation, should be considered a member of UNITA.

Special paragraph — Admission to membership of UNITA is effected through local committees.

SECTION I — ADMISSIONS

Article 64
Admission of new members is effected at the request of the applicant with testimony of at least two old-time members of the Movement.

SECTION II — RIGHTS

Article 65
Every member of UNITA has the right to:

1 Participate in elections.
2 Protection by the Movement.
3 Receive from the Movement material and financial assistance for him/her and family dependants according to productivity.
4 Speak out freely in the meetings of the Movement.

SECTION III
DUTIES OF MEMBERS

Article 66
Every member of UNITA must:

1 Vigorously defend the Movement.
2 Be faithful to the Movement and its President;
3 Be vigilant and maintain secrecy as regards to the internal affairs of the Movement.
4 Conscientiously study the policy of the Movement and apply it in practice.
5 In all that he may be called upon to do, observe orders so as to avoid anarchy and political deviations which paralyse the Movement's action.
6 Participate in all the Movement's activities, especially agitation and propaganda.
7 Submit himself to the discipline of the Movement.
8 Fulfil the duties to which he has been assigned by the leading organs of the Movement.
9 Exercise criticism, including self-criticism.
10 Observe punctuality.
11 Pay subscriptions.

SECTION IV
ELECTIONS AND NOMINATIONS

Article 67
Election of members to positions of leadership in the Movement must take into account the following required qualities:

1 Long service, militancy and practices identifiable with the policy of the Movement.
2 Profound knowledge of the policy of the Movement, courage to defend it and capacity to interpret the same in good faith.

Digitized by Google

3 Firm, resisting attitude against deviations within the Party.
4 Imagination and capacity to analyse a specific or general political situation even under nebulous conditions.
5 Ability to distinguish an enemy from a friend in all circumstances.
6 Constant willingness to work for the unity of the Movement.
7 Capacity to penetrate the masses, unite and rally them to the leadership of the Movement.
8 Capacity to create new values and courage to express his own ideas.
9 Preparedness for any task he may be called upon to fulfil in the revolution.
10 Be active, tenacious, exemplary at work and studious.

SECTION V
DISCIPLINE
Article 68
Discipline is one of the effective weapons of the Movement. UNITA demands maximum, rigorous observance of disciplinary rules by all its members.
Article 69
There are four fundamental disciplinary rules:
1 Subordination of all members to the Movement's organization.
2 Subordination of the minority to the majority:
(a) Once a decision has been taken, those whose point of view constitutes a minority, must scrupulously respect the decision taken democratically by the majority and must comply with it.
(b) Should the minority persist in feeling that they are defending a correct opinion and consider it as being of common interest to continue the debate, they are granted the right to request the convening of another meeting of the organ which voted on the decision, in order to re-examine the point. The number of supplementary meetings may not exceed three.
3 Subordination in terms of hierarchy.
4 Subodination of all members of the movement to the National Committee.
Article 70
Members in breach of the stipulated discipline of the Movement shall be subjected to disciplinary action, in accordance with the gravity of each case:
1 Advice
2 Reprehension
3 Suspension
4 Expulsion.

CHAPTER VI

METHODS OF WORK
Article 71
The methods of UNITA are summarized in three principles:
1 Collective leadership
2 Democratic centralism
3 Criticism and self-criticism.

CHAPTER VII
CENTRAL ORGANIZATION

SECTION I
HIGHEST ORGANS OF LEADERSHIP
Article 72
The Extraordinary Congress of the Movement establishes the following top organs:
Congress
National Committee

CONGRESS
Article 73
Congress is the superior organ of the Movement. It is convened every four years by the President and could be postponed if deemed fit.
1 Congress is composed of the members of the National Committee, delegates of the basic organs of the Movement, representatives of mass organizations and of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA.
2 Congress considers the development of the war and the organization of the Movement, reviews the constitution, elects or renews the mandate of the President in Office and elects the members of the National Committee.
Article 74
Whenever it is justifiable, the President of the Movement can convene an Extraordinary Congress during the four-year interval.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Article 75
The National Committee is the organ which oversees the implementation of the Movement's policy as established by Congress. The Committee is made up of fifty members.
Article 76
The National Committee is responsible for:
(a) Election of the members of the Executive Committee and their substitutes.
(b) Drawing up the internal regulations of the Movement.
(c) Setting up the Secretariat of the National Committee and the Administrative Coordination.
(d) Establishing other organs of the Movement when it is deemed fit.

SECTION II

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANS
Article 77
The Extraordinary Congress hereby institutes the following central executive organs:
1 The President
2 The Executive Committee
3 The Secretariat of the National Committee
4 The Administrative Coordination
5 The Strategic Operational Command as a leading organ of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALA).

PRESIDENT OF THE MOVEMENT
Article 78
The President of the Movement is the President of the National and Executive Committees.
1 The President represents the Movement and the Angolan nation at national and international levels.
2 The President delineates the policy of the Movement, orientates its implementation and demands of all members its fulfilment.
3 The President of the Movement is the leader of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola and is its Highest Commander.
4 The President of the Movement, in his capacity as the High Commander of the Armed Forces, institutes the superior leading organs of the Forces, submitting them to the Executive Committee for approval.
5 The President of the Movement convenes and presides over Congress and the meetings of the National and Executive Committees.
Article 79
During temporary absence, the President nominates his substitute from amongst the members of the Executive Committee.
Article 80
In the event of the prolonged or definite impediment of the President of the

Digitized by Google

Movement, the Executive Committee elects one of their members to assume the leadership of the Movement. A majority of two thirds of the Executive Committee members present must cast a vote in favour of the candidate. Within a minimum time limit of three months and a maximum time limit of six months after assuming the leadership of the Movement, the Executive Committee must convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to elect the new President.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Article 81
The Executive Committee is a permanent organ of the National Committee, whose duty is to orientate and control the implementation of the political programme of the Movement, established by Congress. It is made up of twelve permanent and five additional members, all elected by the National Committee from amongst its members.

SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Article 82
The Secretariat of the National Committee is the organ responsible for the implementation of the political programme established by Congress; it oversees the functioning of the organs of the Movement and orientates the activities of the mass organizations.

ADMINISTRATIVE COORDINATION DEPARTMENT
Article 83
The Administrative Coordination Department is the central administrative organ charged with the responsibility of implementing programmes of administrative organs and national reconstruction. It functions as a governmental organization.

CHAPTER VIII

REGIONAL ORGANISATION

REGIONAL CONFERENCE
Article 84
The Regional Conference is the superior organ of the Movement at the level of a political-military front. It is convened once a year and could be postponed when necessary.
Article 85
The Regional Conference is composed of the delegates of the National, Regional zone and Local Committees of the Movement, delegates of the Armed Forces and representatives of the mass organizations at regional and front levels.
Article 86
The Regional Conference controls the implementation of the programme of the Movement at the level of a political-military front.
Article 87
The decisions of the Regional Conference have to be sanctioned by the National Committee before taking effect.

REGIONAL AND ZONE COMMITTEES
Article 88
The Regional and Zone Committees constitute in each region and zone the leading nuclei of the Movement, through which the latter exercises authority over the Local Committees, members and the massess in the implementation of programmes.

BASIC ORGANIZATION
Article 89
The Local Committees constitute the basic organs of the Movement and assume responsibilities of leadership and control of the masses in the implementation of Party policy.
Special Paragraph — Committees are organized in villages, quarters and working places.

CHAPTER IX

MASS ORGANIZATIONS
Article 90
Mass Organizations control and educate the masses in order to ensure their active participation in the war of national resistance.
Article 91
Mass Organizations are governed by their own by-laws elaborated in accordance with the programme of the Movement and submitted to the National Committee for evaluation.

CHAPTER X

FINANCE
Article 92
The sources of the funds of the Movement are:
1 Donations from members of the Movement.
2 Recourse to and sales of the natural resources of our country in the course of the struggle.
3 Offers of aid by individuals, institutions and friendly countries.

CHAPTER XI

SYMBOLS

SECTION I — PRESIDENT
Article 93
The President of the Movement is the highest representative of the Movement and the Angolan nation. He symbolizes the country's will to resist against all forms of foreign domination.

SECTION II

DESCRIPTION OF UNITA'S FLAG
Article 94
UNITA's flag is a horizontal rectangle made of cloth, 150 cm long and 90 cm wide. It is divided horizontally into three equal strips. The middle strip is green and the other two red. The following is depicted in the centre of the green strip, from right to left: The red, rising sun radiating 16 rays, and a black cock crowing.

INTERPRETATION

1 The lower red colour denotes the blood shed by Angolans in wars of resistance against the Portuguese colonization (1482-1926) and during the rest of the period up to 1961.
2 To Angolans, the green colour denotes hope and unswerving faith in victory in wars against all their enemies.
3 The top red colour denotes the blood shed by Angolans since 1961 in the wars against Portuguese colonialism and, at present against the occupation of our country by Russian imperialism.
4 The black cock denotes a call upon the peoples of Africa to become aware of the foreign domination of Africa.
5 The rising sun denotes:
   (a) The beginning of the armed struggle by the Angolan people in 1961 and, specifically, by UNITA in the eastern province of Moxico in 1966.
   (b) The unity of all the Angolan people of the sixteen provinces (represented by the sun's rays) in the struggle for national independence.

Digitized by Google

6 Every member of UNITA owes respect to our flag and the symbol of the black cock. When our soldiers see the hoisted flag as they march past, they must salute it because it represents eighteen long years of sacrifice during which the enemy forced us — as they still do — to march under their heavy fire. Our flag reminds us of our heroes and our call to follow them.

SECTION III

THE EMBLEM OF UNITA
Article 95
The emblem of the Movement is a yellow circle, containing:
1 In the centre, a green map of Angola on which are engraved:
(a) In the upper section: the rising sun and a black cock;
(b) In the lower section: a gun, an axe and a book.
2 The map is surrounded by:
(a) Above, two coffee tree branches and the words "Socialism" and "Negritude";
(b) To the left, a black panther and a maize-cob; to the right, a black antelope and a maize-cob;
(c) Below, the words "Democracy" and "Non-Alignment".
3 *Interpretation*
(a) The black panther, a robust swift animal, symbolizes the bravery during the first war of national liberation, in the eastern part of Angola;
(b) The black antelope, found only in Angola, symbolizes the specificity of the people of Angola in the context of the black continent.
(c) The maize-cobs, branches of a coffee tree and yellow in the background represent the immense economic potential of Angola.
(d) The gun, axe and book represent respectively to fight, to produce and to learn.

SECTION IV
Article 96
The Anthem of UNITA
1. Filhos todos de Angola
Desta Pátria de heróis
Novo raiar de sóis
Chama-nos à conquista
Da nossa Liberdade
E da África dos nossos antepassados,
Ameaçada da nova escravatura
Com a nossa Bravura
Juremos defendê-la
Para que impere nela
Só o grito da Negritude.

2 Angolanos
Lutemos pelo nosso Continente
Construindo um País
Bem erguido e feliz
Para guia e Escola
Dos Povos Africanos
Sob os novos símbolos da Bandeira
Da República Negro-Africana
E Socialista de Angola
3 Erguei-vos Angolanos
Contra o invasor surgi
D'Àfrica a voz ouvi
Em cobiçar a Terra
Dos avós nossa herança
O estrangeiro delira ante as nossas requezas
E atractivos do lindo Continente
Dão-lhe dor deprimente
Grande Povo da UNITA
Teus maiores imita
Sem dó, dá morte ao inimigo

CHAPTER XIII

OMISSIONS
Article 97
Cases not foreseen in this constitution should be referred to the National Committee for study and solution.

THE ALVOR AGREEMENT

The Portuguese State and the national liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, met in Alvor, Algarve, from the 10th to the 15th January 1975, in order to discuss and warrant the accession of Angola to independence. They agreed on the following.

CHAPTER I

ANGOLA'S INDEPENDENCE
Article 1
The Portuguese State acknowledges that the liberation movements FNLA, MPLA and UNITA are the sole representatives of the Angolan people.

Article 2
The Portuguese State solemnly acknowledges the right of the Angolan people to independence.

Article 3
Within its present geographical and political limits, Angola constitutes one indivisible unity. In this context, Cabinda is an integral and inalienable part of the Angolan territory.

Article 4
Full independence and sovereignty of Angola shall be solemnly proclaimed on the 11th of November 1975.

Article 5
Until the proclamation of independence, political power rests with the High Commissioner and the transitional Government to come into power on the 31st of January 1975.

Article 6
The Portuguese State and the three liberation movements formalize, on the date of the signing of the present agreements, the general cease-fire which is already being observed by the respective armed forces within the whole territory of Angola. From that date onwards, all acts of violence not ordered by the authorities with the view to avoiding internal disorder or external aggression, shall be considered illegal.

Article 7
After the cease-fire, the armed forces of FNLA, MPLA and UNITA shall settle in their rightful regions and localities until the execution of the special provisions set in Chapter IV of the present agreement.

Article 8
Until the end of the transition period, the Portuguese State pledges to progessively transfer to the Angolan organs of sovereignty all the powers it holds and exercises in Angola.

Digitized by Google

Article 9
Upon conclusion of the present agreements, all patriotic actions undertaken in the course of the struggle for the liberation of Angola which would have been considered punishable by the law in force at the time when they took place, are considered totally pardoned.

Article 10
The independent State of Angola shall exercise its sovereignty totally and freely, internally as well as externally.

CHAPTER II

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Article 11
During the transitional period, the President of the Republic and the Portuguese government are represented in Angola by the High Commissioner, who is entrusted with the responsibility to defend the interests of the Portuguese Republic.
Article 12
The High Commissioner in Angola is appointed and exonerated by the President of the Portuguese Republic, to whom he is politically answerable.
Article 13
The duties of the High Commissioner are to:
(a) Represent the President of the Portuguese Republic and, in full agreement with the Transitional Government, secure and guarantee the fulfilment of the law.
(b) Safeguard and guarantee the integrity of the Angolan territory, in full cooperation with the Transitional Government.
(c) Secure the fulfilment of the present agreement and of those that may be concluded between the liberation movements and the Portuguese State.
(d) Guarantee and promote the process of the Angolan decolonization.
(e) Ratify all acts pertaining to the Portuguese State.
(f) Attend the sessions of the Council of Ministers, and, when deemed advisable, participate in the respective debates, without a voting right.
(g) Sign, promulgate and order the publication of decrees elaborated by the Transitional Government.
(h) Secure, in conjunction with the Presidential College, the leadership of the National Defence Commission.
(i) Be responsible for the external policy of Angola during the period of transition, assisted by the Presidential College.

CHAPTER III

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Article 14
The Transitional Government is presided over and led by the Presidential College.
Article 15
The Presidential College is constituted by three members, one from each liberation movement and has, as its main duty, the direction and coordination of the Transitional Government.
Article 16
The Presidential College can, as long as it deems fit, consult the High Commissioner on affairs related to the activities of the Government.
Article 17
The deliberations of the Transitional Government are adopted by a majority of two thirds under the rotating presidency of the members of the Presidential College.
Article 18
The Transitional Government is constituted of the following ministries: Interior, Information, Labour and Social Security, Economy, Planning and Finance, Justice, Transport and Communications, Health and Social Affairs, Public Works, Housing and Urbanization, Education and Culture, Agriculture and Natural Resources.
Article 19
The following state secretariats are henceforth created.
(a) Two state secretariats in the Ministry of the Interior.
(b) Two state secretariats in the Ministry of Information.
(c) Two state secretariats in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
(d) Three state secretariats in the Ministry of Economy, with the following respective designations: Secretariat for Commerce and Tourism, Secretariat for Industry and Energy and Secretariat for Fisheries.
Article 20
The ministers of the Transitional Government are appointed in equal proportion from the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA by the President of the Portuguese Republic.
Article 21
Considering the transitional character of the Government, the distribution of ministries is to be done according to the following:
(a) The President of the Portuguese Republic shall designate the Ministers of Economy, Public Works, Housing and Urbanization, and Transport and Communications;
(b) The FNLA shall appoint the Ministers of the Interior, Health and Social Affairs, and Agriculture;
(c) The MPLA shall appoint the Ministers of Information, Finance and Justice;
(d) UNITA shall appoint the Ministers of Education, Work and Social Security, Culture and Natural Resources.
Article 22
The state secretariats foreseen in the present agreements are distributed as follows:
(a) The FNLA shall designate one Secretary of State for Information, one Secretary of State for Labour and Social Security and the Secretary of State for Commerce and Tourism;
(b) The MPLA shall designate one Secretary of State for the Interior, one Secretary of State for Labour and Social Security, and the Secretary of State for Industry and Energy;
(c) UNITA shall designate one Secretary of State for the Interior, one Secretary of State for Information and the Secretary of State for Fisheries.
Article 23
The Transitional Government can create new posts for secretaries and under-secretaries of state as long as it respects the rule of political heterogeneity in their distribution.
Article 24
Duties of the Transitional Government:
(a) Oversee and cooperate in the leading of the decolonizing process until total independence.
(b) Supervise the whole public administration; ensure its normal functioning and promote the accession of Angolan citizens to responsible positions.
(c) Conduct the internal policy.
(d) Prepare and ensure the holding of general elections for the Angolan constituent assembly.
(e) Exercise by decree the legislative function and elaborate decrees,

Digitized by Google

regulations and instructions for the orderly fulfilment of the laws.

(f) Guarantee the security of persons and property in cooperation with the High Commissioner.
(g) Reorganize the Angolan judiciary.
(h) Define the economic, financial and monetary policy and create the necessary framework for the rapid development of the Angolan economy.
(i) Guarantee and safeguard all collective and individual rights and liberties.

Article 25
The Presidential College and all ministers are collectively responsible for the activities of the Government.

Article 26
The Transitional Government shall not be dismissed on the initiative of the High Commissioner. Should any need for the alteration of its constitution arise, it shall be effected by agreement between the High Commissioner and the liberation movements.

Article 27
The High Commissioner and the Presidential College shall look for ways and means of solving all the difficulties resulting from government activities within the spirit of friendship and by reciprocal consultation.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL COMMISSION OF DEFENCE

Article 28
A National Commission of Defence shall be composed as follows: High Commissioner, Presidential College and Unified General Staff.

Article 29
The National Commission of Defence shall be informed by the High Commissioner on issues of national defence, be it internal or external, in order to:

(a) Define and materialize the military policy resulting from the present agreements.
(b) Secure and safeguard the territorial integrity of Angola.
(c) Guarantee peace, security and public order.
(d) Assume responsibility for the security of people and chattels.

Article 30
The decisions of the National Commission of Defence are taken by simple majority, the presiding High Commissioner having the vote.

Article 31
A unified General Staff shall be created which shall be composed of the commanders of the three branches of the Portuguese armed forces in Angola and of three commanders from the liberation movements. The unified General Staff shall be directly under the authority of the High Commissioner.

Article 32
Armed Forces of the three liberation movements shall be integrated on a par with the Portuguese armed forces into mixed forces in contingents distributed as follows: eight thousand fighters from FNLA, eight thousand fighters from the MPLA, eight thousand fighters from UNITA and 24 thousand soldiers from the Portuguese armed forces.

Article 33
It is the duty of the National Commission of Defence to progressively integrate the armed forces into the mixed military forces referred to in the previous article, in principle respecting the following calendar: from February to May inclusive, 500 fighters from each liberation movement shall be integrated monthly plus 1 500 Portuguese soldiers; from June to September inclusive, 1 500 fighters from each liberation movement shall be integrated monthly plus 4 500 Portuguese soldiers.

Article 34
The troops of the Portuguese armed forces in excess of the contingent referred to in the previous article 32, shall have to be evacuated from Angola until the 30th of April, 1975.

Article 35
The evacuation of contingents of the Portuguese armed forces integrated into the mixed armed forces shall start the 1st of October 1975 and be concluded on the 29th of February 1976.

Article 36
The National Commission of Defence shall organize mixed police forces which will be in charge of maintaining public order.

Article 37
While under the authority and supervision of the National Defence Commission, the Unified Police Command, constituted by 3 members, one from each liberation movement, shall be directed by a college and the President shall be appointed on a rotation basis.

CHAPTER V

REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

Article 38
Immediately after the institution of the Transitional Government, mixed commissions shall be designated by the High Commisioner and the Transitional Government on a parity basis, charged with the planning and preparation of the framework, means and procedures for accommodating the Angolan refugees.

Article 39
The populations concentrated in the "sanzalas da paz" will be able to return to their original habitations. The mixed parity commissions shall propose to the High Commissioner and the Transitional Government social, economic and other measures which will ensure the return to normal life of the displaced persons as well as their reintegration into the various activities of the country's economic life.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR THE ANGOLAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Article 40
The Transitional Government shall organize general elections for a constituent assembly within nine months as from the 31st of January 1975, the date of its coming into power.

Article 41
The candidatures for the Constituent Assembly shall be presented by the liberation movements only, i.e. the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA, the only true representatives of the Angolan people.

Article 42
After the installation of the Transitional Government, a Central Commission constituted in equal parts by members from each liberation movement shall elaborate the bill of rights and prepare the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

Article 43
After the bill of rights has been approved by the Transitional Government and upon its promulgation by the Presidential College, the Central Commission shall:

(a) Lay down a law for elections;
(b) Organize the voters' register;
(c) Register the lists of candidates for the election of the Constitutuent

Digitized by Google

Assembly presented by the liberation movements.

Article 44

The bill of rights in force until the Angolan Constitution takes effect shall not contradict the terms of the present agreements.

CHAPTER VII

ANGOLAN NATIONALITY

Article 45

The Portuguese State and the three liberation movements, the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA, pledge to act in concert in order to eliminate all sequels of colonialism. To this end, the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA reaffirm their policy of non-discrimination according to which Angolan citizenship is defined by birth or by domicile provided that the people domiciled in Angola identify themselves with the aspirations of the Angolan nation through a conscious option.

Article 46

The FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA henceforth undertake the compromise and consider as Angolan citizens all individuals born in Angola, unless they declare that they desire to maintain their present nationality or opt for another; the terms and time limits will be defined later.

Article 47

Individuals not born in Angola but settled in that country are guaranteed the faculty to apply for Angolan citizenship in accordance with the rules established in the fundamental law.

Article 48

Special agreements to be studied at the level of the mixed parity commission shall determine the conditions of granting Angolan citizenship to Portuguese citizens residing in Angola and Angolan citizens residing in Portugal.

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Article 49

The Portuguese State pledges to regularize with the Angolan State the situation resulting from the existence of property belonging to this state outside Angolan territory so as to facilitate the transfer of the said property or the corresponding value to Angola's territory and possession.

Article 50

The FNLA, MPLA and UNITA declare their willingness to accept responsibility for the financial liabilities undertaken by the Portuguese State in the name of and in relation to Angola, provided that these were in the sole interest of the Angolan people.

Article 51

A special mixed parity commission constituted by experts named by the Provisional Government of the Portuguese Republic and the Transitional Government of the Angolan State, shall draw up an inventory of the property referred to in Article 49 and the credits referred to in Article 50, and shall proceed to evaluate that which it considers relevant and propose to the said governments the solutions deemed equitable.

Article 52

The Portuguese State pledges to provide the Commission referred to in the previous Article with all the information and elements at its disposal which the said commission requires to formulate sound judgments and propose equitable solutions within the principles of truth, respect for the legitimate rights of each party and the most faithful cooperation.

Article 53

The Portuguese State shall assist the Angolan State in creating a central national issuing bank. The Portuguese State pledges to transfer to the Angolan State the attributions, assets and liabilities of the Angolan Department of the Bank of Angola, on conditions to be agreed upon by the mixed commission for financial matters. This commission shall equally study all issues related to the Department of Portugal of the same Bank, proposing just solutions related to and in the interest of Angola.

Article 54

The FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA pledge to respect the legitimate interests and goods and chattels of the Portuguese citizens domiciled in Angola.

CHAPTER IX

COOPERATION BETWEEN ANGOLA AND PORTUGAL

Article 55

The Portuguese Government and the liberation movements agree on establishing between Portugal and Angola ties of constructive and durable cooperation in all fields, in particular cultural, technical, scientific, economic, commercial, monetary, financial and military, based on independence, equality, liberty, mutual respect and reciprocity of interests.

CHAPTER X

MIXED COMMISSIONS

Article 56

Mixed commissions of a technical nature shall be constituted on parity, appointed by the High Commissioner, in accordance with the Presidential College, which shall have as responsibility to study and propose solutions to problems resulting from the process of decolonization and establish the bases of active cooperation between Angola and Portugal, namely in the following fields:

(a) Cultural, technical and scientific;
(b) Economic and commercial;
(c) Monetary and financial;
(d) Military;
(e) Acquisition of Angolan citizenship by Portuguese citizens.

Article 57

The commissions referred to in the previous Article shall lead the work and negotiations in a climate of constructive cooperation and faithful adjustment. The conclusions reached shall be submitted within a short period of time to the commission made up of the High Commissioner and the Presidential College, with a view to elaborating the agreements between Portugal and Angola.

CHAPTER XI

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 58

Any issues arising from the application of the present agreements which cannot be solved within the terms of Article 27 shall be resolved through negotiation between the Portuguese Government and the liberation movements.

Article 59

The Portuguese State, the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA, faithful to the socio-political conceptions repeatedly affirmed by their leaders, reaffirm their respect for the principles consecrated in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as their active repudiation of all forms of racial discrimination, namely "Apartheid".

Digitized by Google

Article 60
The present agreement shall come into force immediately after sanction by the President of the Portuguese Republic. The declarations of the Portuguese Government, the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA stress the climate of perfect cooperation and cordiality in which the negotiations took place and congratulate themselves on the conclusion of the present agreements which satisfy the just aspirations of the Angolan people and enhance the pride of the Portuguese people, from now on bound by profound ties of friendship and the objective of constructive cooperation, for the well-being of Angola, Portugal, Africa and the world.

Signed in Alvor, Algarve, on the 15th of January 1975, in fourfold in the Portuguese language.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON THE FOURTH ORDINARY CONGRESS OF UNITA HELD IN HUAMBO (ANGOLA) FROM 23 TO 28 MARCH 1977

The Fourth Ordinary Congress of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was held from 23 to 28 March, 1977 in the liberated territory of the province of Huambo, 80 km from the Huambo capital.

The fact that the Fourth Congress took place in this province challenges and ridicules the unfortunate statement by the MPLA leader, Agostinho Neto, who, when tracing the steps of his Soviet and Cuban masters during his visit to Huambo in May 1977, had the audacity to say that the "defunct" UNITA and SAVIMBI would never return to Huambo. Indeed, we did come back!

5 300 people participated in the Fourth Congress, 722 of whom were delegates representing the Political Bureau, Central Committee, People's Assembly, local committees, Armed Forces (FALA), mass organizations such as JURA and LIMA, the church, traditional leaders and a delegation of UNITA representatives abroad.

Many correspondents of the international media were also present.

The delegates came from the following provinces: Malange, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Bié, Cuanza Sul, Huambo, Benguela, Huíla and Cunene. The freedom of movement with which the delegates travelled great distances from province to province into the heart of Huambo and the carefree manner in which they entertained themselves on folk songs, drums, traditional dances, music, football, etc are ample evidence that Neto's minority government in Luanda is not capable of controlling the country, in spite of their heavy, sophisticated Soviet arms such as Migs, tanks, armoured cars and Stalin organs.

The delegates warmly welcomed UNITA's leader, Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, who made the opening speech and was often interrupted by spontaneous applause. The President made an in-depth analysis of the present political and military situation in Angola resulting from the invasion of Cuban and Soviet forces. On the international level, he emphasized the prevailing situation in Southern Africa, characterized by continued interference, aggression and Soviet expansionism.

The President of UNITA held Portugal and its leaders at the time of Angola's decolonization responsible for the present situation in our country and then mentioned the serious social problems affecting Portugal and its former colonies in Africa. He said that the problem of repatriates to Portugal is a problem exclusively created by Otello Saraiva de Carvalho, Melo Antunes and Rosa Coutinho, in collusion with the MPLA, following Moscow's instructions.

The President subsequently pointed out that UNITA fights for a socially just Angola, harmony amongst all its peoples, ties of friendship with all countries in the world and mutual material benefits.

At a later stage, the President said that history would prove that the peoples of Angola and Mozambique would never pardon Portugal for its complicity in preventing their national independence. Portugal of the Armed Forces, Portugal of Otello Saraiva de Carvalho, of Rosa Coutinho, of Pedro Pezarat Correia, of Melo Antunes, of Victor Crespo was a Portugal manipulated by Moscow leaving in its wake in the colonies (our fatherlands) assassins, arbitrary arrests, hunger, unemployment, hate, vengeance and the continued struggle against Soviet social imperialism.

While analysing the prevailing international situation in Southern Africa, the President of UNITA mentioned many instances of Soviet interference and expansionism in the subcontinent which contributed towards geopolitical instability. For example, when on his last "friendly" visit to Southern Africa, Podgorny of the Soviet Union and his ambassador-at-large, Fidel Castro of Cuba, signed military and economic friendship treaties with several African countries. Podgorny's divisionist and paternalist declarations during this visit divided the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. The Soviets signed a treaty with the MPLA to send "fishing boats" to Angola. These boats were in reality destined for the embryonic navy of the MPLA's minority government in order to transport war material as reinforcement to the Cuban-Katangans who had recently invaded the Republic of Zaire.

Moreover, on Moscow's instructions, Eurocommunism represented by the French Communist Party (PCF) supported the Cuban-Katangan mercenaries against the unified and legal government of the Republic of Zaire. The Katangan mercenaries who were recently still considered reactionaries for having fought for the recession of Katanga from the former Congo (Leopoldville) and for having fought side by side with the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, and who were condemned by the OAU and UN, have now suddenly become progressives and liberators of the Zairean people only because they are on Moscow's payroll. Eurocommunism has thus been unmasked. In Europe, Eurocommunism fights for only one objective: to bring men from Europe's communist parties into power so as to execute submissively Moscow's external policy.

The delegates subsequently dealt with the problem of refugees in neighbouring countries. The refugee problem is older than the OAU itself. The problem was not created by UNITA but was a result of the Portuguese colonial war and the civil war imposed upon our people by the adventurous MPLA-Neto camarilla and

Digitized by Google

was finally aggravated by the war forced on our country by the USSR and Cuba. The Fourth Congress appeals to those countries not to take advantage of our refugees as a means of exchange for political concessions between them and the illegal government of Agostinho Neto. Any country which harbours refugees and has endorsed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has the obligation to foster the well-being and security of these refugees. UNITA and its Armed Forces (FALA) will take adequate measures to end all manoeuvres aimed at using the Angolan refugees in unlawful acts of political transaction between these African countries and the treacherous government of Neto.

CONSIDERING THAT:

True independence of the country, the liberation of the exploited majority of the Angolan people, national unity and democracy — objectives for which the Angolan people have been shedding their blood for fifteen years — have not yet been achieved.

- The minority, petty-bourgeois regime in Luanda not only constitutes an instrument for the Soviets to fulfil their ambitions in Angola and the subcontinent, but also an instrument of oppression against our people.
- Acts of pure banditism, violations, massacres and theft against defenceless populations in Angola are being perpetrated by gangs of Cuban, Nigerian, Algerian, Guinean and Congolese armed mercenaries.
- Angola is at the moment the centre of gravity for Soviet subversion in Southern Africa and victory by UNITA will make a positive contribution towards geopolitical stability in the subcontinent.
- During his last visit to Luanda, Fidel Castro declared that he would not withdraw his mercenary army from Angola. He had therefore not only previously lied to the Swedish Prime Minister, Olaf Palme, and the world but he also proved the MPLA government's dependence for survival on the strength of the Cuban mercenary forces.
- In one year of armed struggle, there has been a rapid change in the situation and positive political progress has been made.
- In the present phase of the national liberation process, the Armed Forces of UNITA (FALA) constitute one of the decisive factors for victory and the taking over of power by the majority of the population.
- The prolonged armed struggle requires that the economy be planned taking the war, into consideration so that material assistance can be given in all fields of national resistance.
- The national economy will be based on diversified agriculture whether in the liberated areas or in a truly free Angola.
- The natural resources of our country are the legitimate material means that must be developed and put at the service of our national struggle.
- The issuing of the kwanza, the currency of the MPLA's regime, was aimed at destroying the monetary system used by UNITA in its vast regions.
- The fight against illiteracy, the effort to improve the level of political consciousness, and the social, cultural, artistic and economic development in the field of education are at present priorities in the whole fighting process and will be in future.
- In this just struggle for liberation, the church must identify itself actively with the oppressed people, unlike the Methodist Church of Bishop Emílio de Carvalho that only serves the interests of the repressive policies of the Luanda minority regime.
- Portugal continues to provide military aid to the illegal Luanda regime as has been proved by the various items captured by our forces.
- The hypocrisy and the treason of African countries such as Nigeria, Guinea (Conakry), Algeria and the People's Republic of the Congo, who maintain their mercenary contingents side by side with the MPLA forces on the payroll of the Soviet Union, constitutes aggression against the Angolan people and is a threat to peace and stability in the subcontinent.
- The present diplomatic relations of neigbouring countries with the minority regime of Luanda have created conditions of insecurity for Angolan refugees in those countries.
- The recent invasion of the Republic of Zaire by Cuban-Katangan mercenaries constitutes a flagrant interference in Zairean internal affairs by the minority regime of Luanda, the Soviet Union and Cuba.
- The just struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world is a contribution towards peace and the establishment of fraternal cooperation between all countries regardless of their chosen political systems.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS DECIDED TO:

1. Generalize and intensify the armed struggle in the entire territory, continuing with the procedure of taking smaller towns which will automatically lead to the capturing of bigger towns and to the seizure of political power by the majority of the Angolan population.
2. Perfect our political and military organization so as to adapt to the material conditions prevailing in the country, thus, uniting all patriotic values in the fight.
3. Accelerate the transformation of the guerrilla units into semi-regular and regular units, preparing them to assume their historic role of embarking on the next stage of position warfare.
4. Combat hegemonism, tribalism, regionalism, illiteracy and all anti-intellectual and anti-theorist tendencies in order to avoid the anti-patriotic deviations that characterize other Angolan liberation movements, by pointing at past errors so as to achieve great victories.
5. Ensure that the political leaders and military officers have an extensive knowledge of justice so that they can assume full responsibility before the people and the Movement.
6. Promote the establishment of civilian and military judicial organs to deal with all offences occurring among the people and the army respectively.
7. Promote the training of more cadres for an adequate civil administration capable of defending entirely the political line of UNITA and the legitimate interests of the majority of our people.
8. Carry out population census in the regions under UNITA's control so as to collect the necessary data for administrative and economic planning.
9. Stimulate agriculture because it constitutes the basis of our national economy, and increase the self-sufficiency of the peasant who constitute 85% of the country's population.
10. Recruit agricultural technical

Digitized by Google

personnel to stimulate agriculture among the people.

11 Promote the creation of more agricultural cooperatives which will be divided into production, distribution and consumption cooperatives at the level of the people's assemblies and local committees.

12 Approve the system of exchange and the fixation of prices stipulated by the Economic Commission to be used in all liberated areas.

13 Maintain the escudo as the only valid currency in the liberated areas and prohibit the use of Agostinho Neto's kwanza. Intensify the collecting of the kwanza and freezing it in the liberated areas.

14 Promote the training of teaching cadres and re-organize the academic curriculum in order to adapt to the prevailing conditions of our struggle and to future needs.

15 Keep education free and compulsory for all.

16 Give the church and the traditional authorities (chiefs) consultative power on issues relating to the material and social well-being of the people.

17 Warn Nigeria, Algeria, Guinea, the People's Republic of the Congo and other countries which have mercenary contingents in Angola on the payroll of the Soviet Union, that they will eventually be defated, because the Angolan people's resistance led by UNITA is an irreversible historical process.

18 Warn the neigbouring countries harbouring Angolan refugees that UNITA and its Armed Forces will take a firm stand to protect the interests of our countrymen abroad. Any transaction by the MPLA on behalf of the Angolan refugees will be considered by UNITA as a declaration of war and UNITA will reply accordingly.

19 Warn the international community and all peace loving countries to be aware of the flagrant violation of human rights in Angola resulting from Soviet-Cuban occupation.

20 Desist once and for all from appealing for the formation of a government of national unity with the MPLA.

21 Intensify the armed struggle against the minority regime of Luanda as the only solution to the national crisis imposed upon our people by the social imperialist invasion, which should result in the taking over of power by the exploited majority of the Angolan people.

22 Condemn the invasion of Zaire by Cuban-Katangan mercenaries sent from Soviet-Cuban bases in Angola.

23 Strongly denounce the continuing acts of subversion fomented by the Soviet Union in Southern Africa. The Fourth Congress of UNITA supports without reservations the struggle for the territorial integrity that the legal and united government of Zaire is waging against the aggressors.

24 Reiterate its unconditional support to all struggling people in the world.

25 Thank all countries and national and international organizations for having expressed their solidarity and understanding and for their assistance in our struggle against the Soviet-Cuban occupation. The victories achieved during these last months of the armed struggle against Soviet social-imperialism in Angola show us that the majority of the Angolan people, whose aspirations for freedom and independence have been frustrated, continue to be the centre of our preocupations and the backbone of our struggle.

UNITA and its military wing (FALA) are today a strong force able to defeat social-imperialism in Angola. The will of an organized people with true leadership and a correct ideology is invincible. History will bear us out.

On the last working day of Fourth Congress, elections for the presidency and the new leading UNITA organs were held. The President of UNITA, Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI was re-elected unanimously. Then the Political Bureau and the Central Committee were elected.

FREE LAND OF ANGOLA, BENDA BASE, HUAMBO PROVINCE (ANGOLA)
28 MARCH 1977.
THE FOURTH ORDINARY CONGRESS OF UNITA.

THE DECLARATION OF MAVINGA

1 After 6 years of resistance against the Soviet-Cuban imperialism and 5 years after the Fourth Congress held at Benda, in the province of Huambo, from the 28th of March of 1977, the Central Committee of UNITA congratulates itself on holding the present Fifth Congress in the territory of Angola in the area of Mavinga, in the province of Cuanda-Cubango.

2 The holding of the Fifth Congress constitutes a great victory for our Movement and for all the struggling people of Angola, more especially as it is being held at a time when the political situation in Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general is undergoing profound changes.

3 For 5 days, from the 26th to the 31st of July 1982, 1 553 delegates from the province of Cuanda-Cubango, Moxico, Lunda, Malange, Bié, Huambo, South Cuanza, Benguela, Huíla and Cunene, consisting of members of the Central Committee, the youth organization — JURA, the women's League —LIMA, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola — FALA and the local committees, examined the course of the struggle from 28 March 1977 up to date and drew up a programme for the next four years.

4 The Fifth Congress of UNITA noted with satisfaction the following:

(a) The implantation of UNITA amongst the oppressed people of Angola.

(b) The fulfilment of the programme drawn up and approved by the Fourth Congress, which included the training of regular FALA units.

(c) The expansion of the national resistance struggle to cover the provinces of Malange, Lunda and South Cuanza, in addition to the consolidation of the Movement's activities in the provinces of Cunene, Huíla, Benguela, Huambo, Bié, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, and the consequent normalization of the socio-economic and administrative conditions of the people and the armed forces.

(d) The improvement in relations with African and world nations

Digitized by Google

notwithstanding the disinformation campaign led by the Soviet Union against our struggle for national liberation.

CONSIDERING:

(1) The political consciousness acquired by the Angolan people in relation to the invasion of our country by the Soviet-Cuban imperialist forces, the massacres perpetrated by the nominal government of Luanda, the pillaging and plundering of the wealth of our country;
(2) The political and economic difficulties experienced by the Cuban forces on the national territory;
(3) The irreconcilable contradictions and misunderstandings existing amongst the vassal minority government and the leadership of the MPLA;
(4) The low morale and the high rate of desertions of FAPLA, estimated at an average of 50 per month;
(5) The country's chaotic economic situation due to the war of national resistance and the incapacity, ineffectiveness, disorganization, corruption and indiscipline that reign in the MPLA, from the lowest to the highest ranks:
(6) The particularly favourable situation experienced by the Angolan people's resistance under the leaderhip of UNITA;
(7) The enormous political and economic difficulties which the Soviet Union and its satellite states such as Cuba, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Poland are facing;
(8) The approaching independence of Namibia and its eventual consequences on our struggle;

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF UNITA RESOLVED TO:

- Reaffirm its total and unconditional support of and confidence in Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, the President of UNITA, as the only legitimate spokesman of the Movement.
- Reiterate UNITA's progressive African vocation.
- Appeal to all patriotic forces fighting in the North of the country to join UNITA in the common struggle against the Russian-Cuban domination in Angola, whereupon UNITA undertakes to assist materially and technically.
- Call on the patriotic forces within the MPLA to adopt a firm and unequivocal stand on the identification with UNITA of the objectives in relation to the withdrawal of the expeditionary Cuban and other foreign forces from the fatherland, peace and national unity.
- Reaffirm UNITA's readiness to negotiate the ending of the national armed conflict between the MPLA and UNITA. Should the MPLA continue to evade direct negotiations with UNITA, we shall have no alternative but to continue the armed struggle until final victory has been achieved.
- Reiterate UNITA's position regarding guarantees of the freedom of worship in the country and especially in the liberated areas.
- Strongly denounce and repudiate the Cuban offensive launched on the 2nd of July 1982, aimed at dislodging UNITA from its positions in the central and eastern parts of the country, using means of massive destruction such as napalm bombs and other chemical products against defenceless populations.
- Support all measures meant to lead to the process of Namibia's independence, while distinguishing between UNITA's struggle against the Soviet-Cuban social imperialism in Angola and the conflict between the Republic of South Africa as a colonizing power and the patriotic forces of Namibia.
- Consider as the only valid solution to the Angolan conflict, a cease-fire that would imply the Cuban withdrawal from this country. However, this does not hinder UNITA from cooperating in the deployment of the UN forces on the Angolan side, provided that UNITA leadership is contacted prior to deployment.
- Oppose categorically any effective substitution of the Cuban troops by other foreign forces.
- Reiterate the statement which defines the war zones as the provinces of Cuando-Cubango, Moxico, Lunda, Malange, South Cuanza, Bié, Huambo, Benguela, Huíla and Cunene, and appeal to all foreigners who are working in whatever capacities in cooperation with the illegitimate minority government of the MPLA, to withdraw immediately on account of the lack of security due to the civil war in the country, stating at the same time that it is not UNITA's policy to interfere with persons who belong to humanitarian organizations such as the International Red Cross.
- Deplore and denounce the hypocritical attitude and the conniving silence of international organizations such as Amnesty International, the Organization for the Defence of Human Rights and the International Red Cross that have never reacted against the massacres committed by the illegitimate minority government of Luanda against our people.
- Call the special attention of multinational companies with investments in Angola, now on the MPLA's side, such as Gulf Oil, Texaco, Manhattan Bank, Elf Acquitaine, Banque Nationale de Paris, Creusot-Loire, ENI, Petrofina and Petro-Bras, to the fact that they are contributing towards prolonging the Angolan conflict.
- Denounce and deplore the condemnable attitude of the Portuguese government towards the Angolan conflict in rendering multiform assistance, including military aid, to the MPLA.
- Thank the countries in and outside Africa for their aid to UNITA's struggle because they have understood Angola's strategic value.
- Reiterate UNITA's policy of maintaining good relations with all neighbouring countries without exception and actively participating, through dialogue, in the search for solutions to all conflicts in Southern Africa.

Reaffirm UNITA's support for the OAU.

- Express UNITA's solidarity with the struggling peoples of Afghanistan and Cambodia, as well as the resistance of the Polish people and the fight of the Cuban people against Fidel Castro's dictatorial regime.
- Support the Central Committee of UNITA in its negotiating efforts aimed at the liberation of the Russians and other foreigners who find themselves in the hands of UNITA.
- Appeal to countries opposed to Soviet expansionism in Africa and the world, to support our struggle actively on a material and diplomatic level.
- The Fifth Congress of UNITA resolved to publish this declaration which is to be known as the Declaration of Mavinga.

UNITED WE SHALL WIN
FREE LAND OF ANGOLA,
MAVINGA, 31 OF JULY 1982.
THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI

Digitized by Google

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Companions in arms,

I would like to begin by thanking you for being present here. Before proceeding with the reading of the Declaration of the Central Committee, I would also like to leave you with the following thought:

"The strength of a country, the strength of an organization, the strength of the leaders of this organization is a force measured in terms of the maximum extent of problems which such a country, organization of leader is capable of resisting."

By this I mean that we are faced with problems of an organizational, national and international nature.

Internally, the people of the country, as well as the armed forces, must be organized effectively. Intellectual lucidity and serenity should prevail within UNITA so that problems can be solved and victory achieved.

On the international scene, we must act with the same serenity in order to confront the changes taking place in Southern Africa. If we do not examine these changes carefully, we would, on many occasions, be inclined to think that they are events beyond our control and we would consequently be likely to panic.

However, all these problems are clear to us, to UNITA leadership, to you the militants of the Movement, armed forces, youth of the Movement and to you LIMA, the Angolan Women's Organization. Should these problems become so serious that they exceed our capacity to resist, the outcome will be determined by means of force and we shall win.

Listen carefully to this declaration which we address to all the Angolan people of whom you, at this moment present in this stadium, are the legitimate representatives. Take note of the most important issues for they will henceforth form the basis of our orientation.

UNITA'S LEGITIMACY

For twenty-three years we have been fighting for the freedom of our country: fifteen years against Portuguese colonialism and eight years against Cuban and Russian domination.

After this long period of suffering in search of liberty and a new nation, all sincere Angolans inside and outside Angola are today asking themselves what has become of the freedom that cost so many lives, and the new nation where the people were to participate in the public administration and to what extent there has been social and economic progress.

The people of Angola do not cherish the memories of Portuguese colonialism. They want national independence. The people of Angola are tired of the civil war which is entering its ninth year and they are equally tired of the maladministration of the MPLA which has wasted everything and achieved nothing, while frequently referring to the economic indices of the colonial era but never attaining these ambitious targets.

UNITA was founded by true Angolans who have since the fifties been actively participating in the resistance of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism. They are men with a long history of patriotism including persecution and imprisonment by the PIDE/DGS Portuguese political police and by neighbouring African countries on account of attacks made on colonial economic infrastructures such as the Benguela railway line in 1967. They are men who participated in the birth of the Angolan armed struggle in March 1961 and also in the founding of the OAU on 25 May 1963. For example, the President of UNITA, Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI presided over the Commission of al African Liberation Movements which drew up a memorandum addressed to all African heads of state and was read before the Magna Assembly of the OAU by the veteran leader of African struggles, Mr Oginga Ondinga.

The Commission, which presented the memorandum to the first conference of the OAU was made up as follows:

- President — Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
- Secretary — Mário Pinto de Lemos ANDRADE
- Reporter — Dr. Julius KIANU

The founders of UNITA are Angolans who enjoyed the esteem and confidence of eminent political personalities of Africa and the world with whom national, continental and international affairs were discussed. These were, among others, Leopold Sedar SENGHOR, Milton OBOTE, Abdel NASSER, Ahmed BEN-BELIA, Kenneth KAUNDA, Robert MUGABE, Houphouet BOIGNY, Ahmed Sekou TOURE, Kwame NKRUMAH, Jawaharlal NERU, Ahmed SOKARNO, Ché GUEVARA, Mão-Tse TOUNG, HASSAN II, Mobuto Sese SEKO, Hosni MUBARAK, Jaffar el NEMEIRY, Gen. EYADEMA, Omar BONGO, Marien NGOUABI, Hailé SELASSIE, Chou-en LAI, Henry KISSINGER, Marshal TITO, Prince SIHANOUK, Alexandre HAIG, Mzee Jomo KENYATA, Arap MOI, Paul BIYA, Modibo KEITA, Hastings Kamusu BANDA, Samora MACHEL, Julius NYERERE, Siad BARRE, Nicolas CEUCESCU, Abdou DIOUF, Aristides PEREIRA, Amilcar CABRAL and the SHAH of Iran.

The founders of UNITA are those who for 23 years, have participated in the discussions of the affairs of Africa and the world! They are neither intruders to the Continent nor to our political experiences.

The patriotic efforts of UNITA were officially recognised by the OAU in January 1975 and by the United Nations, on the occasion of UNITA's participation, by the delegation led by its Secretary General, in the Conference of PNUD held in Geneva in 1975.

During its entire existence, that is since the first congress, at which UNITA was constituted, on the 13th of March 1966, in Muangai, province of Moxico, UNITA has defended the unity of all Angolan liberation movements, the only reflection of national unity. After the 25th of April 1974 in Portugal, UNITA established without delay direct contacts with the FNLA in Kinshasa in November and December of the same year and started negotiations with the MPLA in Dar-Es-Salaam. These discussions were continued in Lusaka and were concluded in Luso, Angola, in December 1974. The Conference of Mombasa was a direct result of UNITA's previous preliminary contacts which, in turn, was a prelude to the Alvor Agreement of January 1975, which paved the way for the setting up of the first and only legal Angolan Government that ever existed in five centuries.

I have always stated and we all know it apart from your being eye-witnesses, that we, survivors of the catastrophe which hit our country and as such, must be conscious that we are alive because others are dead.

Digitized by Google

It was the invasion of our country by the Cubans in January 1975 which obstructed the holding of free elections in October 1975 as foreseen in the Alvor Agreement which were to lead to the formation of a truly elected democratic Angolan government.

The South African entry into Angola in October 1975, was a result of panic in the West and was prompted by pressure by some African countries not to allow Angola — situated in such a sensitive zone — to fall into the Soviet sphere of influence.

An important part of the then independent African states supported and encouraged the West's initiative of letting the South Africans enter Angola. The final resolution of the emergency OAU Conference held on the 22nd of January 1976 clarifies beyond doubt the ardent desire of Africa to see foreigners abandon Angola.

The South Africans left at once; however, the Cubans increased their number to 35 000 men.

These are facts which constitute the legitimacy of UNITA's struggle against the Soviet-Cuban domination of our country and the same struggle aims at materialising the strong will of all the African Continent, that of seeing all foreigners abandon Angola.

Africa cannot now shirk its historic responsibility to support withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola as it did in January 1976, since the South Africans, who occupied the smallest part of the southern province of Cunene, are withdrawing under the auspices of the joint-commission of South Africa and the MPLA.

THE ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

What does UNITA think of the atmosphere of détente which prevails in southern Africa and the pact signed by South Africa and the People's Republic of Mozambique?

What does UNITA think of the agreement signed in Lusaka which involves the disengagement of the Southern African forces from our country?

UNITA is happy with all contacts made and to be made between South Africa and independent African states for it is only direct dialogue which can end armed conflicts.

Since 1974, UNITA has always advocated dialogue with South Africa. Détente now taking place in Southern Africa will not necessarily lead to peace and stability as long as UNITA is not part and parcel of the whole process.

During nine years of fierce struggle with minimum aid from friendly countries and maximum support of the Angolan people, UNITA has totaly liberated a third of the country and is fighting effectively in a territory larger than one third of Angola whereas the MPLA is for the time being, occupying less than the last third of Angola.

Thus, from the total of sixteen Angolan provinces, UNITA's presence is yet to be felt in the Moçamedes, Zaire and Cabinda provinces.

To ignore such a tremendous force inside Angola is to mortgage the entire process of détente now in progress. UNITA appeals to the West not to repeat in 1984, the errors of 1976 when the enactment of the Clark Amendment by the American Congress only served the interests of the Soviet Union.

You all know that the West openly played the Soviet game, when the American Congress passed the Clark Amendment which prohibits aid to the movements that fought against the MPLA. I now ask you: Has the West, in 1984, any problems in removing the Cubans from Angola?

If the Cubans are sent from Angola, Namibia will be free. However, as long as the MPLA fears UNITA, the Cubans will not leave Angola. As a consequene, the independence of Namibia depends upon direct dialogue between UNITA and the MPLA on the issue of the Cuban withdrawal.

The MPLA and the Cubans only want to take advantage of the present climate of détente to permit the application of Resolution 435/78 of the United Nations Security Council. Their objective is to see the destruction of what they consider UNITA's rear bases. UNITA enjoys indisputable and unquestionable support of the overwhelming majority of the Angolan people who make up its secure rear base.

I address you in the name of the Central Committee, the Armed Forces for the liberation of Angola, FALA, and the suffering Angolan people to guarantee you that no one will betray us, confront us and forget us. Thus Africa must be original and have political courage in order to avert the danger of Southern Africa becoming a theatre of confrontation between the two Super Powers.

Let me explain myself:

The MPLA and the South Africans have formed a joint military commission. The MPLA and South African forces jointly patrol the disputed area of Cunene. Why then don't the Cubans leave? Who is the MPLA afraid of? UNITA! (shouted the public).

So you see the Cubans are not in Angola because of the South Africans, since the FAPLA and the South African troops work together.

WHAT WILL BE UNITA'S POLICY FROM NOW ONWARDS?

UNITA seeks and will continue to seek by all means possible, dialogue with the MPLA in order to end the civil war which has been destroying our country. UNITA knows that on either side of the barricade the Angolan people are calling for direct negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA.

To this effect, UNITA is sending letters to all African heads of state, the governments of the Contact Group and indeed the MPLA, in order to state firmly and in detail the imperative necessity of initiating at once, direct talks between UNITA and the MPLA. In addition to the diplomatic effort, UNITA is going to intensify its information drive in order to clarify to African and international opinion the real situation that prevails in Angola and the danger it entails, of an explosion of greater proportions in the whole of Southern Africa.

UNITA will continue to urge the governments of Great Britain and of the Federal Republic of Germany to follow the example of the USA, Portugal and France that have understood better the real motives and objectives of UNITA's struggle.

I explain myself:

We have no relationship with Portugal. For this reason no one should interpret it in a manner as to show that UNITA has an agreement with Portugal. What Portugal does is to permit the circulation of opinion. No one whould think we have

Digitized by Google

any special relations with France. We know that Americans have already officially visited the place. It is England and Federal Germany who still maintain hostile attitudes towards UNITA. We want to state that should England and Germany continue with their attitude, their interest will be endangered in this country and within a very short time. It is also UNITA's firm and declared intention to transfer the war from the bush and roads to major towns, of which the seizure of Novo Redondo, capital of South Cuanza, was the beginning.

Are we or are we not going to the towns? We are!

Are we or are we not going to join our people in the towns? We are! (Replied the public).

Women, men and children, who can stop us from returning to our towns? No one! (Echoed the public).

Let us start moving resolutely, because, from Novo Redondo we shall reach Luanda.

WHAT WILL BE UNITA'S POLICY WHEN PARTICIPATING IN THE GOVERNMENT OR WHEN TAKING CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT?

There are two alternatives: participate in the Government, should the MPLA accept dialogue now, or should we take control of the Government.

What policy shall we apply?

UNITA struggles for true national reconciliation through the formation of a government of national unity which will have to take into account all the genuine political feelings in the country. During the term of the government of national unity, which will be transitional, and after the formation of a government elected by the people of Angola, UNITA will tolerate and defend the existence of other political groups, which is to say that UNITA is not a protagonist of a one party system as the only lever of a government of national unity.

I explain myself:

This means we shall tolerate political parties which are genuine and participate in the national liberation effort, but not opportunitistic parties who will board the train when it is nearly getting to the final station.

UNITA guarantees the protection of minority groups, be they racial or religious, as well as the harmonious co-existence of all ethnic groups and all races who make up the Angolan nation.

UNITA defends the freedom of the press and accepts the idea of the existence of a free and private press in Angola.

UNITA advocates the existence of a government in which other opinions are tolerated and a state based upon the law.

UNITA advocates the protection and the respect for all national cultures.

UNITA defends the freedom of worship and religion and the protection of chuch institutions. It is not sufficient to say that UNITA defends the practice of religion; it is necessary that church institutions train the cadres to permit the advancement of the church.

As far as the economy is concerned, UNITA considers the agricultural sector as the most important lever of the Angolan economy. In this sector UNITA guarantees private initiative with the minimum necessary intervention of the State. For agriculture to prosper in Angola, a sector which occupies 85% of the entire population, the farmer must find not only an outlet for his products but also a material stimulus so that we can avoid the exodus from the countryside to the major towns.

Regarding industry, UNITA is in favour of a manufacturing industry especially of the commodities for internal consumption.

UNITA does not intend embarking on heavy industry such as steel because there is no one abroad who will buy an Angolan tractor when faced with the choice of selecting from amongst those manufactured in America or England. If we did, it would be a misuse of resources and would amount to inefficient use of the country's wealth.

UNITA advocates the creation of a national issue and reserve bank which would operate in conjunction with private banks and insurance companies.

In the whole economic sector, UNITA supports private Angolan and foreign capital as long as it is applied in accordance with the established national economic policy.

UNITA will draft laws and regulations relating to the activities of fisheries in order to protect the maritime wealth of Angola's coastal line from pillage. You know that the Soviets, Japanese and the Spanish are impoverishing our seas. The Soviets do it with MPLA complicity and it is the duty of the Government to put an end to this pillage and injustice.

UNITA defends the participation of the state in the petroleum industry on an equal capital investment basis. UNITA will take into account the present attitudes of foreign petroleum companies which operate in Angola at this moment.

I mean:

UNITA either participates in the government, that is sharing the government with the MPLA or UNITA takes over the power. And we wish to state to such companies as the GULF, TEXACO, PETRO-BRAS and others that we shall in future adopt an attitude based on what these companies are doing in relation to our struggle at this moment.

In the field of education, UNITA is opposed to the cultural annihilation perpetrated by the Cubans through forced shipments of Angolan youths to places of political indoctrination such as the Islands of Pines in Cuba. UNITA defends the establishment of official and private schools in Angola so long as the latter conform to the established law of the government of the country.

Concerning health, UNITA envisages that public health campaigns and preventive medicine and private medical practices will be accepted in addition to state hospitals.

UNITA's foreign policy will be to establish good relations with its neighbours, regardless of their political systems.

UNITA is for the establishment of a regional organization for the solutions of regional disputes and the establishment of common regional economic development projects. In this respect, South Africa has an important role to play as the present political realities have demonstrated. It is the opinion of UNITA that internal political changes in the Republic of South Africa have been initiated and these changes can be enhanced by a change of attitude on the part of the neighbouring African countries.

UNITA respects the principles of the OAU charter, impressing upon this continental organization the need to pay more attention to economic problems.

UNITA defends objective non-alignment and will not adopt an intransigent attitude towards Cuba and the Soviet Union so long as these countries adopt under the present circumstances, a flexible attitude in relation to peace in our country. I mean that we shall not always necessarily be

Digitized by Google

against Cuba and the Soviet Union should they, at this moment remove the Cubans from Angola and reinstate peace in the country.

This is a UNITA declaration in search of peace through dialogue, but issued with sufficient determination and means at our disposal to continue the struggle should the MPLA not respond to our appeal for peace.

THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH
UNITED WE SHALL WIN
Jamba, 30th March 1984 — YEAR OF THE ANTI-CUBAN PATRIOTIC FRONT

The Central Committee of UNITA
The President
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE VICTORY OF THE ARMED FORCES FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA IN ALTO CATUMBELA

1 At its First Extraordinary Session to review the implementation of the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Movement held in Mavinga in the province of Cuando-Cubango, the Central Committee of UNITA congratulates itself on the progress achieved in all sectors of national liberation in the year dedicated to anti-Cuban production.

2 The Central Committee of UNITA especially congratulates itself on the resounding victory of Alto Catumbela which culminated in the destruction of one railway and two road bridges as well as the capture of 84 foreign technicians who, as mercenaries, were in the service of Russians and Cubans who in turn supported the minority regime of the MPLA against the majority of the Angolan people.

3 Through this declaration, the Central Committee of UNITA congratulates the PFF, the Front's Chief of Staff, the Command of Battalion 517, all the guerrilla units and people who, with abnegation participated in the Alto Catumbela operation, which has placed our anti-imperialist struggle against Russian expansionism on the African continent in a new perspective, thus winning for UNITA and FALA even more sympathy and support than in the past.

The astuteness, planning and execution of this operation are unprecedented in the historical annals of the peoples' struggle against Russian totalitarianism.

4 The Central Committee of UNITA exhorts all Angolan people in liberated zones and, elsewhere, militants of the Party in the bush, villages or towns and all military and guerrilla units to redouble their efforts taking Alto Catumbela as an example in order to strike each time even more violently against the enemy who oppresses us in our own country.

With the attack on Alto Catumbela, the armed forces, FALA, have managed to neutralize the 40 000 strong Cuban expeditionary forces, 100 000 FAPLA and independent ODP and the entire enemy air force totalling 87 aircraft. Nobody, through force succeeded to recover the Czechoslovakians, thus provoking a profound division between the minority MPLA government and its Russian masters. At that stage, the Russians were more interested in their white vassals, the Czechoslovakians, than the prestige of the disorganized and unpopular government of the MPLA.

5 All the Czechoslovakians arrived sound and safe at UNITA's central base in Jamba after having walked more than two thousand km through the heart of the country, thanks to the support of the majority of the Angolan people martyred by the Cubans.

Now, the Central Committee of UNITA has trump cards to play against the Soviets, the Cubans and the MPLA in the diplomatic arena. Thanks to your courage and tenacity, the diplomatic initiative is no longer on the Russian side but on the side of UNITA, the true representative of the Angolan majority.

6 Angolans, countrymen! Let us all fully assume our responsibilities towards our present history in order to liberate our beloved country from the new colonial Soviet and Cuban yoke. Victory is possible as it has been recently demonstrated at Lomaun and, above all, at Alto Catumbela.

KWACHA AFRICA
KWACHA ANGOLA
KWACHA UNITA
THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH
UNITED WE SHALL WIN

Central Base of UNITA, Jamba 31st May 1983

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF UNITA ON THE FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA — DR. JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI

On celebrating the fiftieth birthday of our beloved President, Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI, the sons of Angola have gathered here, representing the indomitable will of the Angolan people longing for a fatherland free from all forms of foreign domination, to pay sincere, brotherly and profound homage to him who, born on the banks of the beautiful Savinguila, asserted himself as a chief protagonist and it is around him that the noble destiny of the Angolan fatherland gravitates.

The nation renders homage to one of her most illustrious sons who, in the troubled, dispersed and complex movement of Angolan national liberation, was able to rightly point the way to the salvation of our African fatherland.

"We were lost in search of the nation, nation of the will of the Black African we were in search of ourselves in the nation, the nation alienated by colonialism.[1]"

The fettered and gagged fatherland's soul, in search of a reply, was imploring for an earthly son to reconquer the lost liberty and dignity.

Illustrious President, Dr. SAVIMBI, your capacity as a political and military

Digitized by Google

strategist and an able diplomat have been largely proved and internationally recognised. Thus it is a great honour to celebrate your fiftieth birthday and we are proud to follow in your footsteps as participants in his turning point in history which will go down in the annals of the long resistance of the Angolan people.

The fatherland was looking for a leader who could gather the millions who could accurately interpret the pith of our cultural identity and our African personality.

We'll no longer leave for Uige
We'll no longer leave for the uncertain,
We'll no longer leave with sadness in the soul
For the reborn fatherland has stood up
On the glorious 3rd day of August
When our Great Fatherland returned with "Muata SAVIMBI"
Congratulations Illustrious President
Congratulations Pioneer of the struggle
Congratulations Pioneer of letters
Your combatant pen
Has portrayed in filigree
The heart of the Angolan soul
Angola, martyred fatherland
Who will take us home?
In the air remained the History,
Our History known worldwide. . .

To our father Loth Malheiro SAVIMBI, who taught our President, our illustrious elder brother to believe and hope, we bow in respect for the purity of his sentiments and nobility of his soul.

To mother MBUNDU, mother of the Heroic Youth, that symbolizes vitality and the perennial African fatherland, we address with profound emotion, the maxim: blessed be the gracious mother that has such a son.

On his fiftieth birthday, we congratulate the President as well as the Commander in Chief of FALA, for the following successes:

(a) The military victories of our Armed Forces (FALA) in Kafunfo, Novo Redondo, Huambo, Quibala, Cabinda and the attack that has just taken place at Luando harbour. These victories have projected UNITA at home and abroad as the sole viable solution to Angolan and Southern African problems.
(b) The diplomatic victories corresponding to the military victories were portrayed by the fact that a very large number of newsmen, authors, businessmen, diplomats, ministers and heads of state from many corners of the international scene journeyed to Jamba, UNITA's provisional capital.
(c) We congratulate our President who, in spite of his many occupations, has never withheld any efforts to endow our political Movement as well as our Armed Forces with politically conscientious cadres, in order to satisfy the demands of our combat for liberation.
(d) We salute President SAVIMBI for the successes he had during his last visit to central and eastern Angola.

In conclusion, while we celebrate yet another 3rd of August, we solemnly swear our faithfulness to the President of UNITA and High Commander of FALA, committing ourselves to follow his footsteps, to uncompromisingly defend his moral and physical integrity and to study and implement his teachings and orientations that constitute the only beacon for the liberation of the land and the men of our beloved Angola.

CONGRATULATIONS,
ILLUSTRIOUS PRESIDENT
CONGRATULATION PIONEER OF THE STRUGGLE

HAPPY BIRTHDAY
LONG LIVE GENERAL SAVIMBI
LONG LIVE THE 3rd OF AUGUST
LONG LIVE THE FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE LEADER OF THE ANGOLAN RESISTANCE

Jamba, 3rd August 1984 — THE YEAR OF THE ANTI-CUBAN PATRIOTIC FRONT
The Central Committee

[1]An extract of the poem in previous chapter "Replica" (Reply) by Dr. Savimbi

DECLARATION OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF UNITA

I
INTRODUCTION

REASONS FOR CONVENING THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

For eight years, that is, until December 1983, the FAPLA and the Cubans had an upper hand in the sense that they had a margin of military superiority in addition to the air force.

As from December 1983, the MPLA has been receiving many aircraft such as Migs-23 and MI-24 helicopters, as well as T-62 tanks, which led the MPLA into entertaining the idea of a military option as the only solution to the conflict with UNITA.

This military option, was put to test in the following offensives:

1 *Kazombo offensive: January to July 1984*

(a) Enemy involvement: 15 000 troops of whom 3 000 were Cubans, 200 tanks PT-76, T-54, T-34, BM-21, BTR and BRDM supported by fighter planes estimated to number 30, amongst which where Migs-21, MI-8, MI-24, PC-7, Antonovs-26, 12, 32, Allouettes III and C-130 transport planes that were used to ferry fuel.
(b) UNITA involvement: 16 Battalions were deployed and proved more than sufficient to wreck the enemy offensive, so much that on 27 July, 1984 the enemy forces were obliged to retreat in a disorderly manner to Luena.
(c) During seven months of heavy engagements, the following were the enemy casualties:

Members of the FAPLA killed	1 600
Cubans killed	214
Members of the FAPLA captured	109
Other enemy losses:	
Aircraft shot down:	
Mig-21	2
MI-8	2
PC-7	1
Vehicles destroyed	98
UNITA's casualties:	
Killed	300
Wounded	1 100
Missing	20

2 *Munhango and Cuito Cuanavale offensives: August to September 1984*

(a) Enemy involvement: 12 FAPLA

Digitized by Google

brigades, 1 Cuban brigade, 2 Russian companies under the cover of Technicians, 34 fighter planes, 120 assault vehicles, 25 T-54 tanks and 12 BM-21.

(b) UNITA involvement: 20 semi-regular battalions and 1 regular battalion.

(c) Results of the engagements:
Enemy casualties:
Members of the FAPLA killed 306
Cubans killed.....38
Members of the FAPLA wounded.....707
Members of the FAPLA captured..44
Members of the FAPLA defected to UNITA.....162

Other enemy losses
Aircraft shot down:
Helicopters MI-8.....5
Mig-21.....3
Vehicles destroyed.....87
BM-21.....4
BTR-S/60.....6
Tanks T-54.....3

UNITA's casualties:
Killed.....69
Wounded.....370
Missing.....5

3 This same period was characterized by minor enemy offensives in which the 20th, 48th and 50th Brigades were engaged using as spring-board the towns of Andulo, Chitembo and Chissamba, all in the province of Bié. The offensives lasted one month.

The 48th and 97th Brigades from Sabo in the province of Huambo were engaged in an offensive which lasted 15 days. At the same time, the 45th and 46th Brigades took their chance in penetrating our areas from Balombo and Longonjo respectively. This offensive lasted 20 days.

These minor offensives were confronted in a deserving manner and were successfully taken care of.

While the military opeations described above were in progress, intense diplomatic activity accompanied by an unparalleled disinformation campaign was actively pursued by the MPLA, covering the whole western world.

The Lusaka Agreement, which stipulated the withdrawal of the South African Forces from Angola to Namibia, was nothing more than a dillydallying manoeuvre, which permitted the MPLA to gain time, while preparing their army to seize an opportunity to attack UNITA.

Judging by the trends of the war, it is crystal clear that the armed struggle between FAPLA and FALA has been decisively won by UNITA.

Under the circimstances above stated, taking into account the national and international political climate prevailing, UNITA has found it proper to convene an Extraordinary Congress in which 400 delegates from the provinces of Luanda, Uige, Zaire, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Lunda, Cunene, Huila Huambo, Bié, Cuando-Cubango, Benguela, Malange and Moxico participated aiming at drawing lessons and conclusions from the enemy's military offensives and to map out a correct strategy for the year 1985.

(a) The MPLA no longer has the military capacity to launch and sustain great offensives against UNITA's liberated territory, even if the use of numerous fighter planes is considered.

(b) The Cubans, having learnt lessons from the unsuccessful offensives during the period from January to September 1984, will prefer to say in big towns, thereby taking up defensive positions. This state of affairs is also due to losses which they have been subjected to estimated at 1 300 dead and more than 2 000 wounded.

(c) In 1985, the MPLA under the command of the Soviet Union will prefer to opt for a diplomatic rather than a military solution by:
Making overtures to the United States of America with the aim of luring its government into recognizing the Luanda regime.
Approaching the West for material aid not hitherto offered by the Soviet bloc.
Falsely giving the impression that the departure of the Cubans is acceptable, while proposing the timetable of the said departure in such a manner as to facilitate the application of UN Resolution 435/78 thereby benefiting SWAPO and consequently gaining access to UNITA's logistical routes.

II

1 The triumphant implantation of UNITA in the Northern sector of the country (Cuanza Norte, Uige, Zaire and Luanda/Bengo) and more than anything else, the military operations in Luanda and the attack on electrical pylons resulting power cuts in the capital city for 6 days, led the MPLA to:

(a) Ask for negotiations with the Americans and the South Africans.

(b) Realize that the myth of the so-called traditional areas was over.

(c) Transfer more than 10 brigades from Huambo, Bié, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango in order to defend Luanda.

(d) Adopt a more intransigent line as far as holding direct talks with UNITA is concerned, knowing that they would have to do so from a position of weakness.

(e) Re-evaluate the effects of its conscription of students and workers. Having concluded that the policy was counter-productive as it drove the youth to the countryside, right into UNITA territory, the MPLA resorted to the recruitment of Portuguese mercenaries through the Portuguese Communist Party with Rosa Coutinho, former High Commissioner to Angola in 1974, serving as the principal agent. These mercenaries have since assumed the role of instructors in the training of "commandos".

2 The re-election of President Ronald REAGAN of the United States of America will have its repercussions on Angola and the whole of Southern Africa.

(a) The sympathy of President REAGAN lies with the UNITA fighters who have, for 9 years, courageously been confronting 40 000 Cubans and the powerful Soviet military strength, an unprecedented fact on this continent.

(b) The policy of the US State Department in relation to Southern Africa, more especially Angola and Namibia, should be unequivocally clarified and the sooner the better in order not to save the Cubans from a total collapse, which is more evident today than ever.

(c) While enjoying the sympathy of the United States of America and of the Republic of South Africa, UNITA will not accept being traded in for a fictitious withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

(d) UNITA will have to be part of all negotiations whose objective will be to determine the future of Namibia and the corresponding withdrawal of

Digitized by Google

the Cubans from our country.

(e) We insist that all the parties involved in the Southern African conflict should recognize UNITA as a central factor, with sufficient means to influence the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

(f) UNITA has all its military machinery in place and ready to unleash a big offensive in Luanda and the provinces of Zaire and Kabinda. It is the multinational companies of the West that are sustaining a regime on the verge of collapsing, with Cubans ready to desert it, while Western diplomats in Luanda are supplying their governments with false reports, thereby favouring the MPLA's position.

(g) In the event that the negotiators of Namibia's independence and of the so-called withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola ignore UNITA, the Extraordinary Congress has re-affirmed its position not to allow such an act to take place without grave risks.

(h) The Extraordinary Congress of UNITA has taken the necessary complementary measures to establish alternative logistical routes just in case the application of Resolution 435 endangers its traditional supply lines.

(i) While encouraging direct negotiations with the MPLA, the Extraordinary Congress of UNITA feels that there has been significant development inside the country and that UNITA's cause has gained momentum in he world. Thus we now will rather have the problem resolved in the global context of peace in Southern Africa.

(j) The dismissal of Paulo JORGE does not represent any change in the policies of the MPLA.

(k) The Extraordinary Congress of UNITA rejects, condemns and repudiates any idea of partitioning Angola under whatever circumstances that may be called for. Angola is politicaly, economically and territorially a single entity. Therefore any partition would be a crime against the fatherland.

III

The peoples of the free world should not permit themselves to be saviours of the now collapsing MPLA regime, which has always depended upon support from he Cuban mercenary forces, against the will of the entire Angolan people.

(a) The MPLA continues to execute innocent Angolans.

(b) The MPLA is becoming increasingly isolated in the South as well as in the North of the country.

(c) In Angola and abroad, the MPLA continues to be isolated as they continue to defend a non-African but internationalist thesis.

(d) The Angolan people would only fulfil their duty in Southern Africa with a government elected by the people, which will take into consideration the interests of the minority ethnic groups and different races, while permitting a multi-party political system as the most dynamic form of democracy.

(e) Only an elected government in Angola can give Angolan citizenship to foreigners.

(f) The Extraordinary Congress of UNITA has decided to set free without conditions the following Bulgarian citizens:
Manual Milan of Constantinof;
Lazarina Saprinova Gimitrova;
Catarina Constantinova Stoianova. They were captured during the attack on Novo Redondo, the capital of the province of Cuanza Sul on the 25th March 1984.

(g) The Extraordinary Congress of UNITA truly accepts the reforms taking place in South Africa led by the Executive President, Mr Pieter BOTHA. These reforms constitute the first steps toward the participation of all South African citizens in the political life of their country.

This declaration of UNITA is part of our effort in search of peace through dialogue, while we have the necessary determination and the will to continue the war if need be.

THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH!
UNITED WE SHALL WIN!

National Committee of Unita,
The President
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
Jamba, 09/11/84 — YEAR OF THE ANTI-CUBAN PATRIOTIC FRONT

DECLARATION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON COMMEMORATION OF 19TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNITA FOUNDING

I

THE PROGRESS MADE IN NINETEEN YEARS BY UNITA TOWARDS THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA

On March the 13th, 1966, nineteen years ago, UNITA's constituting Congress was organized in Muangai, province of Moxico.

Muangai is today totally within UNITA's liberated territory.

The purpose of creating a third liberation movement in Angola, where two movements were recognized by the OAU and enjoyed full logistical support from the neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Zaire and Congo Brazzaville corresponded to two philosophical political concepts to which we continue to adhere until this day.

1 To fight for the national liberation inside our country amongst the people and the soldiers so that the leadership can share with them all the sacrifices and hopes.

To this day Africa hasn't experienced a similar event, be it in its past or recent history. This fact alone distinguishes UNITA from all liberation movements in Africa and constitutes the secret behind its strength.

2 Since this option entails many ups-and-downs, the fighters learned to trust their own forces and discovered their ability for organizing, mobilizing and fighting. They built up an extraordinary sense of responsibility towards one another and protected themselves from the interference of friendly countries in

Digitized by Google

their internal affairs.

That's the reason why the struggle has continued through all the downfalls suffered by UNITA along the years:

— The imprisonment of UNITA's President in 1967 by the Zambian authorities for attacking the Benguela railway line and his being forced into exile in Cairo.

— The abandonment of UNITA by all its allies in 1976 and the occupation of Angola by the expeditionary Cuban forces armed with Russian weaponry. In spite of all this, the struggle continued and the people's hopes have been kept intact.

UNITA's leadership profoundly believes *that no matter the circumstances, man can consciously bring sacrifices and even sacrifice his own life when he is convinced that the cause he fights for is a just one.*

Today and here, on behalf of the UNITA leadership I am remembering and call out the names of our most illustrious comrades that, in the fight against Portuguese colonialism and now against Russian and Cuban imperialism, gave their lives so that UNITA can live for ever:

1 Commandant KAFUNDANGA!
2 Commandant SAMAKO!
3 Commandant GAMBOA!
4 Commandant SAMWIMBILA!
5 Commandant Paulino MOISÉS!
6 Commandant Fernando CHAHUMA!
7 Commandant KAZOMBUELA!
8 Commandant Gaio KAKOMA
9 Commandant SAMANJOLO!
10 Commandant BRANCO!
11 Commandant KATELE!
12 Commandant MONTEIRO!

The martyrs for freedom, barbariously executed in Lobito on the 3rd of December 1978:

1 Artur Elavoko ALBINO
2 Armando KAPITIA
3 Noé KESSONGO
4 Eliseu MARTINHO
5 Alberto Manuel SALOMÃO

The martyrs for freedom executed in Luanda by the MPLA in August 1980:

1 Armando PINTO
2 Abias KAYEYE
3 Mendes AUGUSTO
4 António KAPAKALA
5 João E. KAVIMBI
6 Arão KANJULO
7 Emídio NUÑULO
8 Gonçalves S. VICENTE
9 Artur Ezequias QUARENTINHA
10 Francisco F. MACHADO
11 Bento SALOMÃO
12 Victor CHAMATAMBA
13 José K. KINGANJO
14 João M. DA SILVA
14 Manuel KAPINA

MAY THE MOTHERLAND LIVE ETERNALLY

We came here publicly to renew our oath to pursue our combat politically, diplomatically and militarily in order to realize the ideals of this mass movement.

We inherited the temperament of fighting against foreign domination in our country, the country of our fathers and forefathers.

When we shall no longer be here, our sons and our daughters will continue the fight for freedom and the dignity of the Angolans.

Foreign imperialism shall always be opposed in this country, whatever its mask and whatever its name. Today UNITA is able to defend itself and win.

Against Portuguese colonialism and against Soviet-Cuban imperialism supporting the MPLA, more than 43 movements were formed in Angola and in the neighbouring countries including the FNLA and the FLEC, that vanished before the intensity of the conflict against the Cubans, leaving UNITA alone to defend with ardour the flame of freedom in Angola.

II
THE BALANCE OF OUR PROGRAMMES IS POSITIVE

1 If we take into consideration the correlation of forces within the country, with the MPLA being supported by more than 40 thousand Cubans, more than 200 fighter aircrafts and more than 400 tanks and armoured cars plus all those FAPLA brigades led by Cubans, UNITA maintains the initiative of the fight in Angola, putting the MPLA in a total defensive position.

2 The programme of covering all Angola with guerrilla warfare has been totally fulfilled, with the exception of the Moçamêdes Province which is a desert.

The peoples from the North (Kwanza-Norte, Uíge, Bengo/Luanda, Zaire and Cabinda Provinces) have welcomed our guerrilla forces and give them all the moral support and information they need.

3 In Luanda there is a methodical and judicious organization of urban guerrilla warfare going on. Luanda is already encircled, and the MPLA has restricted the movements of foreign diplomats to 25 kms from the capital city-centre.

4 When hunger in Africa became the predominant concern of the year, the liberated areas of UNITA produced enough for its people and its soldiers.

5 The diamond industry, in the Lunda Province, has been reduced to an insignificant venture in which foreign companies no longer take any benefit. Coffee, this year, was tragically affected with the implantation of UNITA in Uíge and other remaining northern parts of the country.

6 The MPLA's government is now solely depending on oil for its economical, political and diplomatic survival.

Today, UNITA is freeing more foreign technicians captured in Kafunfu mines in December 1984 and, on behalf of our liberty and on behalf of the respect we have for the human life of the others, we would like to summarise the policy UNITA will be following in the next few months:

(a) We are not deliberately against economic interests of the West and specifically the Americans.
(b) Today we appreciate the contribution of foreign companies that try to improve the economy of a democratic and peaceful Angola, and we shall continue doing so in future.
(c) Foreign technicians still in Angola within the war zones should listen to our appeal and leave Angola. All those who will be captured from now on and of the same nationalities as the previous ones would only be freed after long and difficult diplomatic negotiations.
(d) UNITA will continue to attack all infrastructures which economically, militarily and politically support our enemies.

III
OUR FOREIGN POLICY

1 We continue to win more sympathy from European countries, from the government of President Ronald Reagan and from those African countries who have understood the weaknesses and the lies of the MPLA on the internal situation of our country.

2 Those who are involved in the negotiations of the Namibian independence must always be told that

Digitized by Google

without UNITA no solution will be viable.

3 The MPLA does not have any intention of sending away the Cubans for it is more than ever depending on them for the survival of its regime. What we can ascertain is that the Cubans, on all the fronts, are tired of the war and that they want to retreat.

4 The new Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail GORBACHEV, should take advantage of the new era and try to find a political solution for Angola, because the military option has already failed.

5 All foreign forces present in Angola must leave, namely the Cubans, the Russians, the East Germans, in the same manner as the South Africans in the Cunene Province.

6 UNITA rejects the policy of racial discrimination wherever it may be practised. But UNITA encourages the reforms being undertaken by President Botha and hopes that these will be extended to the South African Blacks.

UNITA condemns the exaggerated pressure being exerted by the West on South Africa for it may result in upsetting the fragile balance of power in Southern Africa which, in turn, will give rise to an uncontrolled violence which will benefit the expansionist scheme of the Soviet Union.

If the MPLA does not have the courage to dialogue with UNITA on all the issues affecting our country, such as the ending of the civil war, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from our country and the formation of a government of national union in Angola, nothing, not even the oil, will be able to avoid the collapse of the Luanda regime.

The future and the destiny of our country shall bear us out.

We have done it for 19 years on behalf of UNITA for the MOTHERLAND.
THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH!
UNITED WE SHALL WIN!
UNITA'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE
The President of UNITA
Dr Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
— General —
Jamba, 13th March, 1985
THE YEAR OF TOTAL MOBILIZATION AGAINST THE CUBANS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE COUNTRY

DIPLOMACY

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AT THE CEREMONY DURING WHICH THE LEADERSHIP OF UNITA HANDED OVER 16 BRITISH CITIZENS TO SIR JOHN LEAHY, SPECIAL ENVOY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE SECOND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM — THE CEREMONY WAS HELD AT JAMBA, THE PROVISIONAL CAPITAL OF UNITA ON 12 MAY 1984

In the name of UNITA and its President Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI and in the name of the struggling Angolan people, allow me to welcome to Jamba, the provisional capital of the liberated territory of Angola, Sir John Leahy, special envoy of the government of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, even though this journey has taken place in difficult circumstances.

UNITA was formed by genuine Angolans who since the fifties have been participating actively in the resistance of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism. This anti-colonial struggle was waged by UNITA, the MPLA and patriotic Angolan forces of that time.

In all its existence since its constitutive congress on 13 March 1966, UNITA has defended the unity of the movements of national liberation. After 25 April 1974, the date of the coup d'état that saw the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal, it was UNITA that managed to establish a common platform with the other liberation movements for the negotiations on Angola's independence that culminated in the signing of the Alvor Accord between the Angolans and Portugal.

We in UNITA think that these accords have the same international validity as the Lancaster House accord in which the British government put much effort to achieve its fulfilment by all parties concerned.

It was Soviet arms and Cuban troops who destroyed the Alvor Accord, without destroying the people's will to resist foreign domination. It is this resistance that UNITA is carrying out alone with untold sacrifices.

Honourable Visitor,

Great Britain is the cradle of democracy on the old Continent and, for this reason, UNITA cannot understand that it is Great Britain who is supporting totalitarianism in Angola, a fortiori, in face of the resistance of the majority of its people that do not aspire to anything but to participate democratically in its political life.

Great Britain, like the United States of America, Canada and France, is a member of the contact group which is searching for a pacific solution to the Namibian issue.

For practical political reasons, the independence of Namibia is closely linked to peace in Angola where, since 1975, the Cubans have assumed the function of special guards of the MPLA regime.

UNITA is an indispensable component in the materialization of the prospect for peace in Southern Africa and the facts render its introduction into the equation as urgent. We expect success in the forthcoming conversations with the leadership of our party — UNITA.

Here, in this stadium, there are thousands of Angolans that have come to welcome you and, at the same time, manifest their determination to be free.

It would not be improper to refer to the words of Sir Winston Churchill when, in May of 1940, he wrote to President Roosevelt of the USA that he believed that the President was of the opinion that the voice of the United States of America would be of no value if it remained silent any longer.

The future of Africa's relations with the Western world will be decided in Southern Africa.

There are, at this moment, signs of goodwill and political realism. It would be strange, therefore, if Great Britain

Digitized by Google

which, unlike other European nations, knows a lot about Angola, should not now act as a mediator in defence of western interests, which are also Great Britain's interests.

We desire peace in Angola and reconciliation with the MPLA like we did in 1974. Until then we will hold our arms firmly but we keep our minds open to dialogue.

Once again welcome to our fatherland.

LONG LIVE AFRICA
LONG LIVE ANGOLA
LONG LIVE UNITA
LONG LIVE PRESIDENT SAVIMBI
UNITED WE SHALL WIN

The Central Committee

Jamba, 12 May 1984, — THE YEAR OF THE PATRIOTIC ANTI-CUBAN FRONT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT, DOCTOR JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI

AT THE CEREMGNY DURING WHICH CZECHOSLOVAKIAN CITIZENS WERE HANDED OVER TO STANISLAV SVOBODA, VICE-FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE CZECH GOVERNMENT, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF UNITA AT JAMBA, FREE LAND OF ANGOLA, ON THE 20TH OF JUNE 1984

Comrades in Arms and Countrymen,

At last, we have reached the moment when we are handing over to the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia his fellow citizens who, against our and their will as well as against the wish of the Czechoslovakian Government, have been with us for fifteen months. We would like at this moment to welcome the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Mr SVOBODA. We would like to guarantee him that he is among friends who are in different trenches but who aspire to the same liberty, the liberty of the people and their cultural, social and material well-being.

I would like to say that it is our profound conviction that in the present situation prevailing in our country, it is not a case of progressists fighting reactionaries, but a civil war. The super powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, take advantage of this because Angola is a wealthy country and is in a strategic position in the South Atlantic.

It is for this reason that we are convinced that the MPLA will never manage to destroy UNITA. We also do not desire a military victory; we consider the solution to be direct negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA for the formation of a government of national unity.

When I was talking to the Czechoslovakian citizens, yesterday, I emphasized that had UNITA been constituted purely by opportunism, it would have disappeared like the FNLA. But since UNITA has based its combat on principles and on defending the interests of the majority of the Angolan people, we do not only maintain the struggle but now we are also emerging as an active force that aspires to the final victory of our combat.

We would like to see peace in Angola soon. We would like to see our countrymen in the MPLA decide to negotiate with us soon. Peace could really come soon because we are prepared. If we are to consider the suffering that our people experience, the precarious condition of African institutions and the chaotic economic situation on the continent we see that we are wasting the wealth of our people. We are wasting the Angolan soul, the soul that never dies, our greatest wealth. But if we are forced to struggle, countrymen, I would like to guarantee and have you as witness to the international press that if the war continues, we will be fighting in the streets of Luanda.

I would also like to stress with responsibility that UNITA is not against countries of the socialist world. It is for this reason that I have always refuted the accusation that UNITA is a pro-Western movement. We are not pro-Western and I have always refuted this fact. We are a pro-Angolan movement for Angolans to talk about Angola with pride.

I would also like to say that the departure of the Czechs does not represent a closed door rather an open window to the future. We should continue with contacts because the socialist community is involved in Angola and it is our conviction that the future of Angola will be resolved with negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA.

I hope that the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia will serve as an open window to the future. I would also like to praise President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has always been telling us that the only way to put an end to this anguish was to negotiate with the Czechoslovakian Government directly. Here this sad odyssey ends. I should also mention the role played by the International Committee of the Red Cross that is present here. At this moment, I would like to say to all present that we sympathize with your attitudes and you will always find UNITA co-operative and understanding, as long as UNITA's interests and those of the majority of our people do not oblige us to adopt a contrary attitude because we are here to defend these interests.

I would also like to state to the Czechoslovakian citizens being presently freed, that after tomorrow they will depart, to be reunited with their families, and that they will forget this bad experience. We do understand the trauma for them to be separated from their families. We hope that they will be able to re-organize their lives in their country. We also hope that when Angola has accomplished peace, you will return to cooperate in a peaceful country for its material and social progress.

To all you present, I would like to thank you for the warmth that you have added to this ceremony.

Now I have the opportunity to invite a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross and I symbolically hand the two Czechoslovakian citizens over to the Vice-Minister so that we may do away with the misunderstanding. I would like to, sincerely, believe that this will open doors for the future.

STANISLAV SVOBODA, VICE-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT DR. JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI'S SPEECH

Dear President of UNITA,

And all present,

Digitized by Google

First of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks for handing over the Czechoslovakian citizens captured at an industrial complex in Alto Catumbela. I can declare here that the Czechoslovakian technicians came with the aim of reconstructing the economy of the country that had been spoilt by the previous war.

We are not looking for wealth in Angola. We desire that peace may reign and that the country may be reconstructed. President SAVIMBI has just said that there is hope for conversations between the MPLA and UNITA. If that is the case there will certainly be peace in Angola. If the people then ask for our assistance, we shall not hesitate to send other technicians to this country.

We think that this sad episode will not disturb the cooperation between the Czechoslovakian people and the Angolan people. We are not trying to counsel because Angolans can solve their own problems.

The Angolan people have the sovereign right to choose for Angola the government of their choice.

The essential condition for any people in their existence is peace and we sincerely wish that there may be peace in Angola.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

LETTER SENT TO THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE BY THE UNITA LEADERSHIP

UNITA was founded by sincere Angolans, who since the 50's have been actively participating in the modern resistance of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism, people who have been persecuted and imprisoned by the colonial authorities, people who participated in the founding of the OUA and people who, in 1975, played a decisive role in overthrowing Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

Inspired by democratic principles, these Angolans conceived and realized the Conferences of National Unity with the MPLA and the FNLA that led to the signing of the Alvor Accord in January 1975 and allowed, for the first time in the history of Angola, the formation of a unique and legitimate Angolan Government of National Unity.

In spite of so many patriotic efforts, the massive intervention, since 1975, of Cuban armed forces in support of the MPLA torpedoed the normal process which was to lead Angola to independence, peace and happiness for its people.

After eight years of a heroic resistance against the Soviet and Cuban occupation of Angola, UNITA had, with the unconditional support of the Angolan people, irrefutable victories in the political, military and administrative fields.

In the context of the unfolding events in Southern Africa, it is to Your Excellency's knowledge that South Africa, after the Lusaka Agreement of 16 February 1984, formed a Joint Military Commission with the MPLA in the South of Angola (Cunene Province), where they not only supervise the withdrawal of the South African Forces but also and foremost the movements of SWAPO.

The government of Luanda has been giving the world to understand that the Cubans would only be withdrawn from Angola once the threat from South Africa has been removed, but it is not doing so now because it fears the strength of UNITA.

On the other hand, South Africa will never abandon Namibia as long as there are Cuban forces in Angola.

Consequently, only an understanding between UNITA and MPLA will enable the withdrawal of the Cuban forces and Namibia to become independent.

We in UNITA are ready, from now on, to negotiate the ending of the civil war that has cost so many Angolan lives, and which continues to prevent the economic reconstruction of Angola and works towards an East/West confrontation.

At the OAU emergency meeting held in Addisa-Ababa on the 22nd of January 1976, the desire to see all foreign forces leave Angola was expressed. Thus, Africa presently has the moral obligation to help the people of Angola find an African solution.

Your Excellency,

All the people of Angola, the majority of the African people and many people in the world crave for peace, understanding and economic progress in Angola.

On behalf of the suffering but determined Angolan people, I address myself to Your Excellency's person in the faith and conviction that you will make every endeavour so that dialogue, which has become so pressing, may take place between UNITA and the MPLA for the reestablishment of peace in Angola and in Southern Africa.

With my highest esteem,

Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI

The President of UNITA

Jamba, the 30th of March 1984.

LETTER SENT TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE CONTACT GROUP COUNTRIES BY THE PRESIDENT OF UNITA, DR. JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI

1. To President Ronald REAGAN – The United States of America.
2. To President François MITTERRAND – France.
3. To Chancellor Helmut KOHL – Federal Republic of Germany.
4. To the Prime Minister, Margaret THATCHER – United Kingdom.
5. To the Prime Minister, Elliot TRUDEAU – Canada.

In its declaration sent to the Angolan people, to Africa and to the world, the Central Committee of UNITA expressed its views about the diplomatic moves of the last months in Southern Africa.

Amongst the resolutions that were taken, the leadership of UNITA decided to address letters to all governments of the Contact Group of which your country is a member.

On behalf of the struggling Angolan people, the Central Committee, I have the honour and privilege to submit to the consideration of Your Excellency our points of view on the problematics of Southern Africa.

UNITA was founded by sincere

Digitized by Google

Angolans, who since the fifties have been actively participating in the modern resistance of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism; who have been persecuted and imprisoned by the colonial authorities; who participated in the founding of the OAU and who, in 1975, played a decisive role in the overthrowing of Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

Inspired by democratic principles these Angolans conceived and realized the Conferences of National Unity whith the MPLA and the FNLA that led to the signing of the Alvor Accord in January 1975 and allowed, for the first time in the history of Angola, the formation of the unique and legitimate Angolan Government of National Unity.

In spite of so many patriotic efforts, the massive intervention, since 1975, of Cuban armed forces in support of the MPLA torpedoed the normal process which was to lead Angola to independence, peace and happiness for its people.

After eight years of heroic resistance against the Soviet and Cuban occupation of Angola, UNITA had, with the unconditional support of the Angolan People, irrefutable victories in the political, military and administrative fields.

In the context of the unfolding events in Southern Africa, it is of Your Excellency's knowledge that South Africa, after the Lusaka Agreement of 16 February 1984, formed a Joint Military Commission with the MPLA in the South of Angola (Cunene Province), where they not only supervise the withdrawal of the South African Forces but also and foremost the movements of SWAPO.

The Government of Luanda that has been giving the world to understand that the Cubans would only be withdrawn from Angola once the threat from South Africa has been removed, is not doing it now because it fears the strength of UNITA.

On the other hand, South Africa will never abandon Namibia, as long as there are Cuban forces in Angola. Consequently, only an understanding between UNITA and MPLA will enable the withdrawal of the Cuban forces and Namibia to become independent.

We in UNITA are ready, from now on, to negotiate the ending of the civil war that has cost so many Angolan lives, continues to prevent the economic reconstruction of Angola and works for the East-West confrontation.

At the OAU emergency meeting held in Addis Ababa on the 22nd of January 1976, the desire was expressed to see all foreign forces leave Angola. Thus, Africa presently has the moral obligation to help the people of Angola find an African solution.

The Contact Group, which has been endeavouring to realize Namibia's independence finds itself in a quandary resulting from the Cuban presence in Angola.

Your Excellency,

All the People of Angola, the majority of the African people and many people in the world crave for peace, understanding and economic progress in Angola.

On behalf of the suffering but determined Angolan people, I address myself to Your Excellency's person in the faith and conviction that you will make every endeavour so that dialogue, which has become so pressing, takes place between UNITA and the MPLA for the good of peace in Angola and in Southern Africa.

With my highest esteem,
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
The President of UNITA
Jamba, the 30th of January 1984.

LETTER SENT TO HIS EXCELLENCY DR XAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, BY THE UNITA LEADERSHIP

Mister Secretary General,

For some years now the Southern African situation in general and Angola in particular have been receiving the attention of international bodies.

Against the background of the diplomatic moves of the last months in Southern Africa and on behalf of the struggling Angolan people and of the UNITA leadership, I have the honour and the privilege to submit before Your Excellency our point of view on the problematics of Southern Africa.

UNITA was founded by sincere Angolans, who since the fifties have been actively participating in the modern resistance of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism — people who have been persecuted and imprisoned by the colonial authorities, who participated in the founding of the OAU and who, in 1975, played a decisive role in the overthrowing of Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

Inspired by democratic principles, these Angolans conceived and realized the Conferences of National Unity with the MPLA and the FNLA that led to the signing of the Alvor Accord in January 1975 and allowed, for the first time in the history of Angola, the formation of the unique and legitimate Angolan Government of National Unity.

In spite of many patriotic efforts, the massive intervention, since 1975, of Cuban armed forces in support of the MPLA torpedoed the normal process which was to lead Angola to independence, peace and happiness for its people.

After eight years of a heroic resistance against the Soviet and Cuban occupation of Angola, UNITA had, with the unconditional support of the Angolan people, irrefutable victories in the political, military and administrative fields.

In the context of the unfolding events in Southern Africa, it is of Your Excellency's knowledge that South Africa, after the Lusaka Agreement of 16th February, 1984, formed a Joint Military Commission with the MPLA in the South of Angola (Cunene Province), where they not only supervise the withdrawal of the South African Forces but also and foremost the movements of SWAPO.

The government of Luanda that has been giving the world to understand that the Cubans would only be withdrawn from Angola once the threat from South Africa has been removed, is not doing so now because it fears the strength of UNITA.

On the other hand, South Africa will never abandon Namibia as long as there are Cuban forces in Angola. Consequently, only an understanding between UNITA and the MPLA will

Digitized by Google

enable the withdrawal of the Cuban forces and Namibia to become independent.

We in UNITA are ready, from now on, to negotiate the ending of the civil war that has cost many lives, continues to prevent the economic reconstruction of Angola and works for the East-West confrontation.

The OAU emergency meeting held in Addis-Ababa on the 22nd of January 1976, expressed a desire to see all foreign forces leave Angola. Thus, Africa presently has the moral obligation to help the people of Angola find an African solution.

The Contact Group that has been endeavouring to realize Namibia's independence finds itself in a quandary resulting from the Cuban presence in Angola.

Your Excellency,

All the People of Angola, the majority of the African people and many people in the world crave for peace, understanding and economic progress in Angola.

On behalf of the suffering but determined Angolan people, I address myself to Your Excellency's person in the faith and conviction that you will make every endeavour so that dialogue, which has become so pressing, takes place between UNITA and the MPLA for the good of peace in Angola and in Southern Africa.

With my highest esteem,
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
The President of UNITA
Jamba, the 30th of January 1984.

A MESSAGE TO THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE

The resistance of the Angolan people against the present Soviet expansionism in Africa and in the world has profound roots in the culture and tradition of our people.

The struggle against Portuguese colonialism was aimed at freeing the land and liberating the people from whatever shackles to its sovereignty and to the pursuance of happiness for the Angolan people. It was also aimed at preserving good relations with Portual on the basis of the profound language and cultural ties.

The present situation in Angola, eight years after the Portuguese departure, is alarming and worsening daily in all spheres of Angolan life.

Desperation has fallen upon all our people, but they still believe in the future because of UNITA's resistance. The Brazilian people who received their independence at a high cost with the cry of Ipiranga ("Independence or Death!") and who have indelible ties with the Angolan and African culture, has a moral obligation to understand our fight for freedom.

UNITA values the gesture from the Government and the Brazilian people to receive in their country thousands of Angolans driven away by the Soviets and Cubans, so that they could reorganize their lives in this great brotherly country.

UNITA hopes the Brazilian people will not forget us and that they will always remember our deep desire to enrich the brotherhood between the two peoples, once the guns have been silenced in this much martyred African land.

After Portugal it is to Brazil that Angola will turn for help in her gigantic future task of rebuilding the country both materially and socially.

THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH — UNITED WE SHALL WIN

Central Base of Jamba, 15th January 1983 — The Year of the Anti-Cuban Patriotic Front

The President of UNITA
Dr. Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI
General

WELCOMING SPEECH OF THE UNITA CENTRAL COMMITTEE MADE AT THE STADIUM "BATALHÃO DE INSTRUÇÃO COMANDANTE MONTEIRO" AT THE RECEPTION FOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS AT JAMBA, UNITA's PROVISIONAL CAPITAL ON 13th JULY 1983

Honourable members of the European Parliament,

Dear Countrymen,

In the name oF UNITA and our President Doctor Jonas Malheiro SAVIMBI and also in the name of the struggling Angolan people, we have the privilege to welcome you, honourable MP's to Jamba, the provisional capital of UNITA.

We greet you enthusiastically and during your brief stay you will have the opportunity of having direct contact with part of the achievements of UNITA in its fight for the well-being of our martyred and marvellous people.

Do accept, Illustrious Visitors, our profound thanks in having agreed to come and visit the free land of Angola. We believe that your testimony on the reality of the heroic resistance of the Angolan people may enlighten the European Community better about the combat for national salvation of our people against the Soviet-Cuban occupation.

Honourable Members of Parliament,

The enemy is crying and is about to be unquestionably beaten by UNITA, that legitimately represents the profound aspirations of the Angolan people.

After seven years of relentless battles against the foreign aggressor, our glorious FALA (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) have proved extraordinarily effective and have demonstrated magnificent combative qualities.

Implementing the new strategy drawn by the Fifth Congress of UNITA that was held in July 1982 at Mavinga, very important socio-economic centres were captured and FALA continues progressively to the north en route to Luanda. In all parts of the country, FALA is affectionately welcomed by the various peoples in different parts of our country.

The Angolans categorically reject the illegitimate and minority government of Luanda that owes all its power to the expeditionary corps of the Cubans.

Illustrious Visitors, what is UNITA's

Digitized by Google

position in relation to the Cubans?

In the first place allow me to clarify that the Cubans were not invited by a legal Angolan government. In January 1975, when the Cubans started invading our country there was only a transitional government formed by the three liberation movements that were signatory to the Alvor agreement.

Cubans were sent to Angola to correspond to the expansionist ambition of the Soviet Union to crush the resistance of the Angolan people under the leadership of UNITA.

However, after seven years of heroic resistance, the people of Angola know and the MPLA can testify, that the Cuban forces have failed roundly to crush the resistance movement of the Angolan people.

Therefore, what is the true role of the Cubans in Southern Africa?

The Cubans are in Angola to impede national reconciliation, to withhold the emergence of peace in Angola and at present, they have the role of hindering a pacific and African solution to the Namibian issue.

Without the withdrawal of the Cuban forces, there will not be peace in Angola or in Southern Africa.

Today eminent personalities, diplomats and sincere analysts of the conflict in Southern Africa foresee UNITA as the only viable alternative to defend and protect the Angolan people and Dr. SAVIMBI as the only leader capable of reconciling all Angolans for peace, prosperity and happiness.

Dr. SAVIMBI is an eminent leader of our time. He has devoted all his life to the liberation of the Angolan people, yesterday against the Portuguese colonialism and today against Soviet-Cuban social imperialism.

Honourable Members of Parliament,

The western European nations whose government are socialist, social democrate or liberal do benefit from a privilege rare in our days, ipsum est, a type of political system that is founded on the respect of human rights.

These acquisitions are a product of a long history, of a long tradition and of a long experience.

But a question arises! . . .

How will European democracies resist the challenge and the menace of generalized slavery from Soviet totalitarianism?

How will the Western community react to the great challenge of our time to safeguard liberty and democracy?

As an eminent expert in strategic studies recently emphasized, a new, particularly audacious deal came to light after the downfall of Portuguese colonialism with the meddling of the Cuban forces, whose presence in Angola and Ethiopia has modified the continental balance of power.

Africa has been made the centre of the East-West confrontation.

We cannot forget that the Soviets are still the best readers of Lenin, who said that the one who controls Africa, controls Europe.

We believe that UNITA is the key to Angola, Angola is the key to Africa and Africa the key to the West.

We think that our interests converge with those of the free world because when we fight for our freedom to expel Soviet expansionism, we are also defending countries within the orbit of Western influence.

Liberty and freedom, the last trump cards of the Western civilization, will not survive the threat of Soviet totalitarianism if the European community does not listen to the voices of an Angola that is about to free itself and the struggling African people.

Honourable guests, welcome to our motherland.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

LONG LIVE AFRICA!

LONG LIVE ANGOLA!

LONG LIVE UNITA!

LONG LIVE PRESIDENT SAVIMBI!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN PEACE LOVING COUNTRIES!

THE STRUGGLE SHALL TRIUMPH – UNITED WE SHALL WIN!

CENTRAL BASE AT JAMBA, THE 13TH OF JULY 1983 – THE YEAR OF ANTI-CUBAN PATRIOTIC FRONT

SIGNED,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF UNITA

INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW WITH THE LEADER OF UNITA, DOCTOR JONAS MALHEIRO SAVIMBI. *THE IDEAS WERE COLLECTEB BY FRANÇOIS SOUBAN — A FRENCH JOURNALIST FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE "JEUNE AFRIQUE"

Jeune Afrique: You haven't ceased to proclaim the African character of your combat, having negritude as your slogan; your name has meanwhile been associated with all white powers that have made Angola their hunting-ground: Portuguese, Americans, South Africans . . . Acknowledge that it is contradictory!

Dr Savimbi: You forgot the Soviets and the Cubans. . . My first fighting hours were inspired by NKRUMAH and NASSER and I have remained faithful to this nationalist engagement. This means that I'm neither pro-Western nor pro-Socialist, but pro-Angolan. It's true that the propaganda and intoxication machine deployed by my enemies is formidably effective. It's also true that the nearness of South Africa poses a problem and the people of Luanda measured well the advantage they could take by discrediting my person in the eyes of international public opinion. But the people of Angola know their history and they make allowance for the lies.

Jeune Afrique: Your nationalist engagement, when does it date from? Those who knew you as a student in Portugal, then in Switzerland, say that you were rather a carefree and not politically minded young man . . .

Dr Savimbi: It's not exact. Long before I left Angola, my father, Loth Malheiro SAVIMBI, who was a station headmaster on the Benguela railway line, taught me that Portuguese colonialism, as well as all colonialisms, was deadly and that it was necessary to fight so that it dies. He wanted his son to acquire the intellectual weapons necessary for that fight. That's why he sent me to Lisbon in 1958 with little savings in my pocket. I registered at

Digitized by Google

the faculty of medicine and immediately started contacting nationalist students: there was Graça Tavares, Agostinho Neto and Amilcar Cabral. Together, we distributed leaflets. Three times I was molested by the political police, the PIDE, the reason why I spent three short periods in prison. I was constantly followed. Then Cabral advised me to make a change. Thus I went to Switzerland, to Lausanne.

Jeune Afrique: You then registered to read Political Science and joined the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA) of Holden Roberto. Why then, since your Portuguese contacts should have directed you to the MPLA?

Dr Savimbi: It's very simple: the MPLA, at the time, was so clandestine that I even ignored its existence. I associated with Neto but I didn't even know that he belonged to an organized movement. When I arrived in Switzerland at the end of 1959 and learned, while reading a leaflet, of the MPLA's existence, I subsequently wrote to Conakry where Lucio Lara, Viriato da Cruz and other leaders of this movement were. I asked them for some information about their programme and if so they wished to send someone to meet me. A year later I still had not received anything except for half answers and no one came to see me. On the contrary, Holden Roberto, to whom I had also written, came to Lausanne. We had discussions for three hours. I realized he had no programme. I therefore reserved my reply. Then by early 1960 I was commissioned by the Angolan Union of Students, an organization sympathetic to the MPLA and at the time led by Luis de Almeida, the present Luanda Ambassador in Paris, to be their representative at the Conference of African students in Kampala. There I met Tom Mboya who took me to Nairobi and introduced me to Jomo Kenyatta. The "MZEE" was under house arrest. To meet the man who had just published "At the feet of Mount Kenya" was for me of crucial importance. "Don't join the MPLA", he told me, "they are Communists. Rather join the UPA and strive to give it a programme. Here, take this paper and write to Roberto." This is how I joined what was to become the FNLA.

Jeune Afrique: You then went to Leopoldville, the future Kinshasa, where Holden had his headquarters.

Dr Savimbi: In September 1960, three months after the Congo's independence, Roberto appointed me as Secretary-General. I did not take it very seriously and at first I refused. Holden insisted. I ended up accepting after demanding to return to Lausanne to support my final dissertation on Yalta and decolonization.

Jeune Afrique: Soon, problems were to develop between you and Roberto. You wanted his place, didn't you?

Dr Savimbi: Quite the contrary. After our total dissatisfaction on his disorganization and ethnocentric behaviour some members wanted to organize a coup d'état against him. I was opposed to it. It would have been suicidal, for Roberto and the support of the Leopoldville authorities. And we would have played the Portuguese game. I then decided to leave the movement and start a new one. By April 1964, I was back in Switzerland.

Jeune Afriqne: A rupture consummated during the summit of the OAU in Cairo, three months later.

Dr Savimbi: Exactly. In July 1964 I went to Cairo to explain my stand before the African heads of state. Roberto took it badly. But Nasser, Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Ben Bella and others supported and encouraged me on my approach. They were disappointed by the ineffectivess of the MPLA and hostile towards the reactionary character of the FNLA. Sekou Touré Told me: "Holden is a CIA agent". Nasser took my letter of resignation to be broadcasted on Radio Cairo. Besides, Nasser supported us faithfully until his death in 1970.

Jeune Afrique: In September 1964 you went to the USSR and to other socialist European countries. What were you looking for there?

Dr Savimbi: I made the trip on Nasser's advice. It was he who made contacts in Moscow, Berlin, Prague, Budapest and Warsaw on my behalf. He was convinced that, without the support of a big progressive power, such as the Soviet Union, I would never succeed to lead a truly revolutionary struggle. The Soviets told me: "Join the MPLA, you will become its Vice-President." I told them that it wouldn't lead to anything as long as its leadership persisted in remaining outside Angola. It was necessary to leave Brazzaville and take to the bush. My interlocutors said that such wasn't their conception of armed struggle and it all ended there. I returned to Cairo empty-handed. Thus and through Nasser, I kept contact with the Soviets until 1966.

Jeune Afrique: What was then your position with respect to Castro and the Cuban Revolution?

Dr Savimbi: I was very admiring. I even had the records of Castro's speeches and was fascinated by his revolutionary experience. Meanwhile, I knew the late commander Ernesto CHE-GUEVARA better. I met him in February 1965 on a plane from Dar-Es-Salaam to Algiers where an Afro-Asian economic summit was to take place. The Che was coming from Brazzaville, where he met the leaders of the MPLA, who disappointed him with their bureaucracy at the movement's small training camp in Dolisie. He asked them to be taken to their "liberated areas". They replied saying it was impossible for security reasons. Therefore, he wrote to Castro a negative report on the MPLA and confided to me that if I really took to the bush Cuba would be on my side. But soon after his return to Havana he disappeared, to go and fight again. His report wasn't considered.

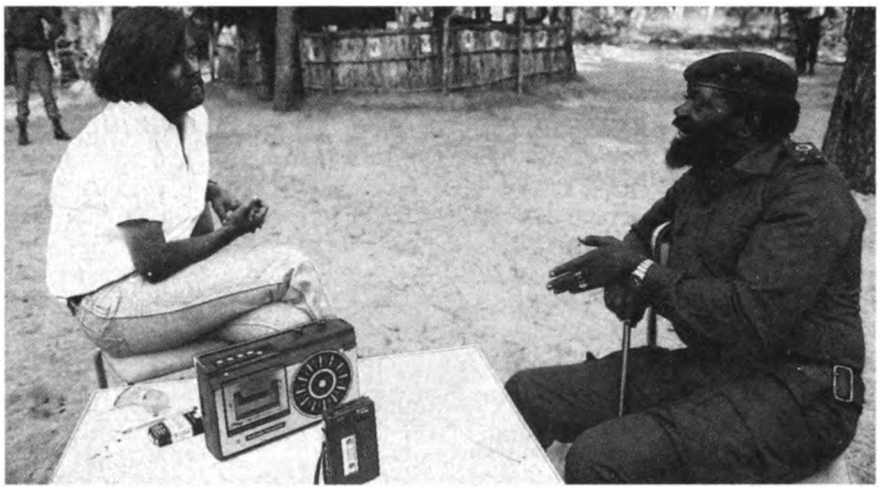
Jeune Afrique: Early 1965 you went to China. On your own initiative?

Dr Savimbi: Yes and no. I went to see Nasser again, "the USSR doesn't help us, Cuba hesitates, what are we to do?" He replied: "You have the choice between Soekarno and Mao, but I advise the latter because the Chinese have a richer guerrilla-war experience than the Indonesians." Thus I went to Peking, where I was warmly received. Contrary to the Soviets, the Chinese let me explain my ideas and after correcting some, they told me: "We could give you money but you will waste it. Instead, go and look for a score of your countrymen to be brought here for military training. This is for you as well as for us a better investment." I think they wanted also to test how serious I was. They gave me 30 000 dollars and I went to Brazzaville, Lusaka and Dar-Es-Salaam to persuade 11 of my countrymen to come along with me to the Academy of Nankin. We remained there for four months. From April to July, 1965.

Jeune Afrique: Who was your main Chinese interlocutor?

Dr Savimbi: The then Prime Minister, Chou en Lai. He was in charge of the liberation movements desk. I met Mao

Digitized by Google



President SAVIMBI with "Jeune Afrique's" special envoy, François Soudan, at Cangamba

General SAVIMBI at the Cangamba runway with the wreck of an Antonov shot down by UNITA's anti-aircraft units.

Digitized by Google

once, in 1967. I had just started the armed struggle. He asked me a question on the forwarding to the Angolan bush of weapons which China were delivering. I told him that I had the agreement of president Nyerere and Kaunda for the weapons to be transported through their countries. He then said in a sibylline tone: "African revolution is young and fragile. It's possible, sometimes, for you not to get our deliveries since one of these heads of state may embezzle them. Do not be disheartened. Endure."

Jeune Afrique: China has officially recognized the MPLA Government and has invited President Dos Santos. Your friends of yesterday dropped you . . .

Dr Savimbi: I know the Chinese well. This reapproachment between Peking and Luanda doesn't disturb me. Between them and us there has not and shall never be a rupture.

Jeune Afrique: It was also during the Sixties that you met Senghor. It's somehow strange to find him beside Nasser, Nkrumah, Ben Bella . . .

Dr Savimbi: I met him in 1963. At first he did not appreciate my parting with Roberto because he feared a possible weakening of the anti-communist front. But we kept in touch through his Minister for Culture at the time, Alioune Sène, who is now Senegal's Ambassador to Switzerland. Since then, we have come very close to one another. We have spent hours on end talking about Negritude. He has remained our faithful friend.

Jeune Afrique: His successor, Abdou Diouf, has established diplomatic relations with Luanda . . .

Dr Savimbi: No doubt President Diouf is less enthusiastic towards us than President Senghor who made our combat his own. But I can tell you that he is nevertheless not hostile.

Jeune Afrique: What were your relations with Sekou Touré?

Dr Savimbi: Good until March 13, 1966, the date of UNITA's founding. He then started to insult us, I don't see why. I remained thus for ten years until 1976. He then came closer to us thanks to our Moroccan friends who were helpful towards that end. Thus until his death he didn't cease to plead our cause before the Arab petroleum countries.

Jeune Afrique: Between 1966 and 1974 between the time of foundation of UNITA and the downfall of the Portuguese colonial Empire, who in Africa helped you?

Dr Savimbi: It was a very difficult period. We only had two representatives abroad, one in London and the other in Cairo. At each OAU meeting it was necessary to put up a fight in order to be heard. Only Senghor, Nasser, Ahidjo, Siad Barre, Kaunda, Nkrumah and his military successors opened their doors to us. They alone had the courage to say to their equals: "Let the OAU send a commission of inquiry into the bush before deciding on whom represents what." It has not done so.

Jeune Afrique: Kenneth Kaunda? He too abandoned you . . .

Dr Savimbi: No! No! He often changes his mind, that's all. At first he helped us, then in 1967/1968 he caused us some problems for he was inconvenienced by UNITA's upsetting the normal functioning of the Benguela railway line. In 1974 he helped us again because he's strongly opposed to communism. But when the Cubans arrived he found it wiser to be reconciled with the MPLA. Today we do control the entire length of the border between Angola and Zambia. I think he will, once again, change his stand.

Jeune Afrique: Morocco didn't help you, between 1966 and 1974?

Dr Savimbi: Until 1975 Rabat helped the MPLA. The Sahara issue that radicalised the stand of many, and mainly the two Shaba invasion attempts opened the eyes of the Moroccans. President Mobutu made them understand the necessity of being on our side. They have helped us ever since.

Jeune Afrique: Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Gabon: they are reliable friends?

Dr Savimbi: Let's say that they aren't hostile.

Jeune Afrique: And the Algerians and Tunisians?

Dr Savimbi: Algiers broke all relations with us after the downfall of Ben Bella. As for Bourguiba, he always supported Holden Roberto. Ever since the collapse of the FNLA in 1975, he has undoubtedly thought that the Angolan issue is distant and complex . . .

Jeune Afrique: Your opinion on Mobutu: you know him well . . .

Dr Savimbi: Yes, surely. He's a head of state with a personality in spite of what one may think, and in spite of what one may say.

Jeune Afrique: Houphouet?

Dr Savimbi: He is one hundred per cent African. When he makes an appointment for twelve o'clock, he receives you an hour later, only to tell you that he can only see you that evening. But he keeps you the whole night for dinner, whereas if you are supposed to see Senghor at eight o'clock, you have to be there at five to eight and the duration of your discussions is measured to the minute.

Jeune Afrique: Hissein Habré? Your itineraries are similar, except that he is now in power . . .

Dr Savimbi: I don't know him, but I admire his ability to manoeuvre and manipulate. I consider it a talent.

Jeune Afrique: Hassan II?

Dr Savimbi: Oh! He also knows how to manoeuvre. He's a master in the art. He is one of our friends.

Jeune Afrique: Many of your young officers received their training in Morocco. Are you satisfied?

Dr Savimbi: They are our best cadres.

Jeune Afrique: Morocco is the only African country that dares to maintain contact with you in an almost open manner. You are definitely an embarrassment!

Dr Savimbi: Sudan and Somalia also do not act behind the scene in helping us. But it's true that many heads of state prefer to see us at night rather than during the day. What counts is that they see us. As for the rest, we know that we are a source of problems. But this situation is changing.

Jeune Afrique: And Samora Machel?

Dr Savimbi: Appearances are deceptive. Machel and Mozambique are not our enemies. Machel has always abstained from criticizing UNITA: he knows well that nothing will be achieved in Angola without us.

Jeune Afrique: Don't you have contacts with the MNR rebels of Mozambique?

Dr Savimbi: None. The South Africans have often suggested it. We have refused. The MNR never fought against the Portuguese: it didn't exist before 1974.

There is, therefore, a legitimacy problem about it.

Jeune Afrique: Would you like to see the Angolan question being debated in the OAU again?

Dr Savimbi: The OAU has enough problems as it is. If we impose ourselves on the terrain, it will open its doors to us. Besides, it has been long since the OAU had a key or a solution to the continent's problems.

Digitized by Google

I prefer to act otherwise. On the 30th of March, at the end of the extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of UNITA, I wrote a letter to most of the African heads of state to inform them on the prevailing situation. I have instructed my representative in New York, Jeremias Chitunda to deliver it. Eight heads of state personally received Chitunda and encouraged him.

Jeune Afrique: Do you have any relations with the OAU Secretary General?

Dr Savimbi: When my friend Edem Kodjo was the OAU's Secretary General, we often got in touch.

Jeune Afrique: That is not the case with Peter Onu?

Dr Savimbi: The Nigerians and ourselves never understood each other well. But, and I say to you again: all this is barely important.

Jeune Afrique: Your bad reputation rests on four grave accusations. It's said that you co-operated with the Portuguese secret police during the liberation war. Next you have been connected to the CIA at the time of the civil war. Since then, South Africa has been supporting you at arm's length. Finally, UNITA is a tribal movement.

Dr Savimbi: When I founded UNITA in 1966, my father was arrested by the Portuguese. He remained two years in prison, from 1967 to 1969. He died in August 1973 in Silva Porto, under house arrest. Had I had the slightest connection with the PIDE, I would have had him freed. Surely, the Portuguese have tried to penetrate, to manipulate UNITA as well as the FNLA and the MPLA. They succeeded, in 1968, to buy one of my commanders, Tiago Sachilombo, but they couldn't go any further. In the same year, Nasser had to intervene in extremis to stop Kaunda — who wanted to end our attacks on the Benguela railway under the pretext that these disturbed his copper exports — from delivering me to them hands and feet bound.

Jeune Afrique: But there were the letters, documents that were published . . .

Dr Savimbi: They are fakes. It's disinformation. No one has ever seen the originals of these documents. In 1975 when they were published, I asked the Portuguese, the OAU, the UN, the MPLA and the FNLA to send a commission of inquiry to the areas of Lumbala (Gago Coutinho), where UNITA was suspected of having had contact with the PIDE. They refused. Why? In fact, the problem is simple. When Caetano was toppled on the 25th of April in Portugal, I was the only nationalist leader inside Angola. The Portuguese came here, to the bush, to negotiate a cease-fire with me. Holden was in Zaire and Neto was in Zambia. The Portuguese Communist Party — which, through Admiral Rosa Coutinho kept a tight hold on the Angolan administration — wouldn't accept that. It became necessary at all cost to make believe that UNITA was a puppet movement. The intoxication machine was set in motion. And, ever since it has not stopped. But it has become less and less credible. When, today, Dos Santos says we are based in Namibia and that we do not held any land in Angola, there are few people who believe him. The reality cannot be distorted: neither of the three liberation movements of Angola — UNITA, the MPLA or the FNLA — will be able to rule without the other two. Hateful slander will not change a thing. When in 1971 the mother of Agostinho Neto got permission from the Portuguese to visit her son in Italy, I never said that Neto or the MPLA was manipulated by the PIDE. Yet my father, at the time, was detained by the Portuguese. Decidedly one cannot insult history with impunity.

Jeune Afrique: Second part of the accusation. The CIA. There, it's more difficult to deny . . .

Dr Savimbi: I deny nothing. I explain myself. In 1974/1975 after the Transition Government, resulting from the Alvor Agreements, had disintegrated, I addressed myself to the governments of America, France and the UK for aid. The MPLA did the same with the Soviets and Cubans. I also called upon Senghor, Houphouet and some others to intervene in our favour. Washington released 25 million dollars: 20 million for Roberto and 5 million for me. Nothing compared with what Luanda got from Moscow and Havanna.

Jeune Afrique: This money was handed over to you, via Lusaka, by the CIA?

Dr Savimbi: And so what? The CIA, the Pentagon, the State Department: What is the difference? The CIA is merely a section like any other in the American Administration. For us, Africans, it remains Washington. Go to Mobutu, to Kaunda, to Machel and you will see CIA agents being received in presidential offices. Go to Luanda. You will see Soviet KGB agents and Cuban DGI's in each ministry.

Jeune Afrique: And now, how are your relations with the CIA?

Dr Savimbi: I no longer have any contact with it. On the American side I still see Chester Crocker with whom I only talk diplomacy. I have met him about ten times during the past two years.

Jeune Afrique: Third file: South Africa. In 1975 the South African armed forces penetrated into Angola. It was called "Operation ZULU". You took advantage of this invasion and tried to foist yourself on. Why this complicity?

Dr Savimbi: When the South Africans entered Angola, in October of 1975, I was in Dar-Es-Salaam, at Nyerere's. I heard about it like the others, by reading the telex. It's unnecessary for me to say that we were not consulted. On the contrary: we have always maintained close contacts with SWAPO who were fighting these same South Africans in Namibia. For obvious geographical reasons, the rear bases of Swapo were within the territory under our control. We were doing joint training and sometimes joint military actions. And, since Swapo was recognized by the OAU and received weapons from the Liberation Committee, we divided between us these weapons. This is to say, a priori, the South Africans couldn't have any sympathy for us. Their operation in Angola was decided under pressure from Henry Kissinger after consultation with some African heads of state.

Jeune Afrique: Which ones?

Dr Savimbi: I shall name them one day. For the time being we are not yet writing our memoirs. In short, we were not associated. The South Africans came through Lubango, Moçâmedes, Lobito and Benguela pushing us out of their way. Their objective was to meet with the FNLA in the North and take Luanda in a pincer movement. I went to see Kaunda. I asked him to tell the South Africans of the necessity to discuss with us too. Kaunda relayed the message and I was contacted.

Jeune Afrique: Not only have you done nothing to resist this foreign invasion, but, moreover, you looked for a contact with Pretoria. It's serious!

Dr Savimbi: How did you want us to oppose the South Africans? We were already fighting against the MPLA and the Cubans! Lenin did sign the Brest-Litovsk peace, Stalin the

Digitized by Google

German-Soviet pact, Machel the Inkomati Agreement and Dos Santos those of Lusaka . . .Today, the Luanda people dine with the South Africans, together they hunt the Swapo in Cunene. Who dares to come here and give us lessons?
Jeune Afrique: It doesn't excuse a thing. Moreover, the South African invasion legitimized Cuban intervention.
Dr Savimbi: False. It's the reverse. From January, 1975 there were Cuban instructors on the side of the MPLA. Neto had proposed to us — we were sitting jointly in the transition goverment — to let some of our men be trained by the Cubans, namely in the field of communications.
Jeune Afrique: Did the South Africans have the right to enter Angola or did they not?
Dr Savimbi: They had no right, neither more nor less than the Cubans.
Jeune Afrique: Nevertheless, one never heard you protest, later, against their numerous incursions.
Dr Savimbi: What good would it have done?
Jeune Afrique: Added to your credibility.
Dr Savimbi: But not to my efficiency.
Jeune Afrique: What's your position on Namibia?
Dr Savimbi: It's a problem of decolonization. The Namibian people should be able to choose the government of their own wish. Namibia should become independent.
Jeune Afrique: With a Swapo government led by Sam Nujoma?
Dr Savimbi: Swapo is an authentic nationalist movement. With Nujoma, it's a different story. I have known him for quite a while. I do not trust his judgement, because he's weak, easily manipulated.
Jeune Afrique: Your sentiments on apartheid.
Dr Savimbi: As a black man, I cannot accept it. It is a question of survival. But it does not hinder me, beyond the sentiments, to reflect. In 1963, I was, with Odinga Oginga, Mário de Andrade and others, one of the authors of the paragraphs of the OAU Charter relating to liberation movements. I think that the strategy we defined at the time — that of armed confrontation — has been superseded. It was valid for the Portuguese colonies and for Rhodesia, but it's no longer valid for South Africa. The countries surrounding it are weak and Pieter Botha is stronger than Salazar or Smith had ever been. Hence, it's necessary to find another way round to encourage South Africa on reforms.
Jeune Afrique: Nelson Mandela?
Dr Savimbi: I am by his side in the same way as I am with all those who struggle. Nevertheless I don't agree with those who talk of scandal about him. It's unwarranted sentimentalism. He who fights, must accept the price.
Jeune Afrique: The Lusaka Agreement signed between Pretoria and Luanda, on 16th February, does it worry you? Neither you nor Nujoma seem to have been consulted, whilst both are directly concerned.
Dr Savimbi: I am not worried. We shall always succeed in receiving our supplies. The major part of these do not transit through South Africa or Namibia. Besides, it suits our propaganda beautifully: Luanda can no longer justify the continued Cuban presence on the pretext of a South African threat.
Jeune Afrique: Do you have contacts with the Luanda government?
Dr Savimbi: Officially, none whatsoever.
Jeune Afrique: Informally . . .
Dr Savimbi: Yes. With some individuals.
Jeune Afrique: Where?
Dr Savimbi: In Paris and Lisbon.
Jeune Afrique: Who?
Dr Savimbi: If I told you their names, they would be exposed to danger. You know, there are lots of clans within the MPLA: the federalists, the moderates, the Catete group . . . They are far from being of the same mind. Some of them advocate negotiations, others are totally opposed to them.
Jeune Afrique: Are there clans in UNITA?
Dr Savimbi: At the present juncture we can't afford such a luxury.
Jeune Afrique: Aren't you worried to be pushed aside by someone more or less intransigent than you?
Dr Savimbi: It's impossible. I am the founder of this movement. Military I'm the most experienced. If I'm pushed aside, all may collapse. Tomorrow, when the war had ended, it will be a different thing. I entertain no illusions on that.
Jeune Afrique: You are often accused of being enthnocentric, of privileging the Ovimbundu, your own ethnic group.
Dr Savimbi: It's false. You only need to study the composition of UNITA's Central Committee. The strongest place of the Movement has always been the East. It's where it all began. It's where we have the controlled zones today. That region is populated by Luchazes, Chokwes, Mbundas, not Ovimbundus. The latter live in the central highlands. But then, look at the other movements: the FNLA is predominantly northern, the MPLA recruits essentially in Luanda . . . One has to be realistic: there isn't yet a national consciousness in Angola. Our aim is to create it, and this isn't done overnight. "One people, one nation", proclaims the MPLA. It's a bluff, the more so as this movement doesn't have any power-base among the 85% of the Angolan peasant population.
Jeune Afrique: Do you deny that there exists an MPLA "sensitiveness"?
Dr Savimbi: Absolutely not. But it should not exclude the others. If the present situation trails-the-rope Angola will explode. Zaire, Zambia and others would be affected by it. It's important for the three main tendencies of this country to participate in government. It's necessary to come back to the three-party Alvor Agreement.
Jeune Afrique: Then you are for a multi-party system?
Dr Savimbi: Yes, any reverse action in this domain will have dramatic consequences: look at what happened to us or to Zimbabwe. No single tendency or movement can claim to monopolize power.
Jeune Afrique: What's your economic programme? To make a clean sweep of all that has been done in this field since independence?
Dr Savimbi: There is no question of destroying all that was done by the MPLA. We shall see. But let's be realistic: to nationalize unremittingly, to turn truck drivers into civil servants, to bureaucratize in all directions doesn't make sense: production collapses and individual initiative dies. It's necessary to rehabilitate the private sector and, above all, we must liberate the countryside from the nationalization yoke.
Jeune Afrique: Is there a model to follow?
Dr Savimbi: To a certain extent. The Ivory Coast. In spite of the serious problems this country is facing today.
Jeune Afrique: Let's talk about your personal fortune. How much does it amount to?
Dr Savimbi: But I have nothing, absolutely nothing. All my life, I have

Digitized by Google

HOOVER INSTITUTION
STANFORD LIBRARIES
To avoid fine, this book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below

MAR 18 1987
APR 26 1989
JUN 17 1989
MAY 3 1990
NOV 2 1990
JUN 24 1993

never had a bank account. I have no villa abroad. Nobody here has anything whatsoever.

Jeune Afrique: All the same, friends and states have given you money. What have you done with it?

Dr Savimbi: All goes into the coffers of the Party and are administered by a manager. I have never been concerned with these problems. We have in London a bank account for the benefit of our external representatives and to buy weapons on the international market. We request precise statements on all expenditures. Our people abroad are honest, all of them are former fighters from here. We are often obliged to explain to them that Europe is not like the bush, thus they must buy two suits. Some people think that, because of our contacts with South Africa and because we do get money from the Gulf Arab countries, we should have personal fortunes. It's false.

vimbi: Lots of biographies. Namely of Mao, Stalin, Churchill and De le.

Afrique: Newspapers?

vimbi: Everything that reaches me I have been reading "Jeune que" for the past 20 years. I always le a copy, often weeks late. But our source of immediate news here is the .

Afrique: Your military objective for ?

vimbi: Take the armed struggle into da.

Afrique: Terrorism?

vimbi: No, urban guerrilla warfare d around the capital. The way we do in and around Huambo, the second st city of our country. You will see. It be spectacular.

Digitized by Google

DT 611.8 .U573 1985
UNITA, identity of a fr AJV1594
Hoover Institution Library
3 6105 081 644 622

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google